

# MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

A Systematic Study including  
Source Material

PART II

By

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## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

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The first edition of this book was published in 1904. Though copies of it have not been in the market for more than an year now, I regret I could not meet the need earlier owing to other preoccupations. In the present edition references to other literature on various topics dealt with in the book have been brought up to date and improvements short of rewriting the text have been effected. It is therefore hoped that readers will find in this an even more helpful guide to the study of Mughal history than in its predecessor. Since literature on the subject is already very vast, as well as fast growing, it may not be out of place to mention here the salient features of the present work. I cannot do this better than by summarizing the observations of some of those who were kind enough to assess the first edition of this book.

Rev. H. Hume, S. J., while commending it observed, "This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine historical method." Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai found "The principal merit" of the work in "the skillful placing together of all available matter and weaving it into a connected account." C. S. S. in the *Journal of Indian History*, wrote, "The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book." While my reviewer in the *Islamic Culture* credited me with having treated my subject with "enlightened sympathy" and with having tapped "practically all the historical sources available to him in English," I cannot claim to have done anything more.

As the book is the outcome of a real need felt by the author while teaching the subject he has spared no pains to boil down the bewildering mass of material for the benefit of the more earnest students. At the same time care has been taken to represent all points of view on controversial topics, helping the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the words of Sir Oliver Lodge, I have acted on the motto "to know anything thoroughly nothing second-

his must be excluded; with what result, it is for my impartial critics to judge.

My indebtedness to authors and works cited throughout the book is greater than I can specifically recount in this short Preface. The detailed references in the foot-notes are intended to be guides to deeper study no less than acknowledgments of my sources.

Willingdon College,  
November, 1946. }

S. R. SHARMA

#### PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

References have been further brought up-to-date in this edition.

S. R. S.

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# GENEALOGY

AKBAR (1896-1988)

Indira  
(1878-1971)

Iskand  
(d. 1888)

Iskand  
(d. 1884)

Rajesh  
(d. in prison, 1992)

Parvati  
(d. 1890)

Khanum (1880-1980)  
(1880-1980)

Shahzadeh  
(executed, 1895)

## AUTHORITIES

A. PRINCE.—I. PRINCE: (2) *Adher-adine of Abul Fazl* is the chief source of information regarding the birth, education, and early life of Jahāngir. Its dates are particularly valuable. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VI, pp. 22-302.

(1) *Tahsilat-i Adher-adine or Indiyat-din* is a continuation of the above (1802-08). Extracts in *ibid.*, pp. 103-125.

(12) *Tahsilat-i Akbari of Nurman-d-din* has already been noticed. It supplements *Adher-i Fazl* up to 1593-4; but its dates are to be accepted with caution. Extracts in *ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 247-476.

(iv) *Wāṭir-i Asad Beg or Ashraf-i Asad Beg* is valuable as the work of a servant of Abul Fazl who writes with intimate knowledge. Dowson points out that a note in Persian at the end of the MS. says, "Towards the close of Jahāngir's reign he was honored with the title of *Parīzān Khān*. He died at the commencement of the reign of His Majesty Shah Jahan, in the year 1041 H. Extract in *ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 150-74.

(v) *Tarikh-i Jahāngiri* or the *Memoirs of Jahāngir* (also called *Wāṭir-i Jahāngiri*, *Tārīkh-i Sultān Shāh*, *Jahāngir-nāma*, *Jahāngir-nāma*, etc.) is of considerable interest and value as the personal memoirs of the Emperor, mostly written by himself. It deals, however, with only the first eighteen years of his reign. Dowson speaks of it as a very rare work, almost unknown even in India itself. "It is a plain and apparently ingenuous record of all that its author deemed worthy of note. . . taken as a whole, the work is very interesting, and revealing that Jahāngir is mainly responsible for its authorship; it proves him to have been a man of no common ability. He records his weaknesses and confesses his faults with candour, and a perusal of this work would leave a favorable impression both of his character and talents." Extracts in *ibid.*, pp. 364-391.

(vi) Four other sources may be briefly noticed together: (a) *Tahsilat-i Wāṭir-i Jahāngiri* of Muhammad Shāh; (b) *Ighd-i-ahmad-i J. of Muhammad Khān*; (c) *Māṭir-i J. of Nawaz Khān*; and (d) *Jahāngir-i J. of (?) Shāh Abul-Wahab*. All these are valuable as works written during the Mughal period, and as supplementing other sources. Extracts in *ibid.*, pp. 392-452.



II. EUROPEAN : (1) JESUIT.—The *Commentaries* of Fr. Minnemann; and De Jarris's *Thausera* (vol. III, Bk. I, chaps. 16-23). These two deal with Jahangir's early life down to end of 1603.

(2) *GRAND EUROPEAN*.—(a) *Persian Pilgrimage* (1625) contains accounts of various travellers (Mackenzie, 1908). Of Hawkins' report, Dr. Beni Prasad remarks that it forms a first hand, and, on the whole, thoroughly reliable source of information; but his observations on the administrative system and the condition of the people should be received with caution.

(b) Sir Thomas Roe's *Embassy* (Foster, Halkett—2 vols. 1896) contains vivid and picturesque descriptions; but, like the above, to be received with care, especially when he writes of things beyond his personal observation.

(c) Tamy's *Voyage* (Persian vol. IX, pp. 1-54 of reprint of 1777) is a valuable supplement to Sir T. Roe's account.

(d) De Laet's *Description of India and Fragment of Indian History—1625* (Hoyland and Baserjee, *The Empire of the Great Mogal, Tanaporewalla Bazarjee*, 1925). "It is a complete gazetteer of Jahangir's India. Although it is a compilation, it is a faithful and reliable compilation" (Baserjee).

(e) Niccolao Manucci's *Storia de Mogor* (1683-1708)—Tr. by William Irvine (John Murray, London, 4 vols.) Vol. I contains an account of Prince Salim (p. 121), Jahangir's reign (pp. 150-70), Mir Jahan (pp. 161-4), and Bulugh (pp. 173-81). "All this is based on gossip and is almost entirely worthless for historical purposes" (Beni Prasad).

B. SCHOLAR : (1) Elphinstone's *History of India*—(8th ed. by G. B. Cowell, pp. 590-74). "In spite of its imperfections it still remains the best short account of Jahangir's reign in English." (Beni Prasad).

(2) Beni Prasad's *History of Jahangir*—2nd edition (The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1930)—is an exhaustive and critical study from all sources. Pp. 441-77 give a detailed bibliography. Says about European accounts in general, "Their unfamiliarity with the country and its politics, their ignorance of Persian, their prejudices and their credulity made it impossible for them rightly to interpret what they saw." (p. 425).

(3) MacLagan's *The Jesuits and the Great Mogal*, ch. V, pp. 69-82, deals with the Jesuits as well as other Europeans at the court of Jahangir, 1625-27.

(iv) *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (from the Relations of Fr. Paulo Gonsalves) Ed. by Sir Donald Ross and E. Power (Oxford: 1900).

(v) Sir H. Miers, *Jahangir and the Portuguese*, a paper read at the 9th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Ludlow in December 1935. (Calcutta, 1937).

(vi) Francis Gladwin's '*The Nat. of Jahangir*' ed. by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1933).

(vii) Article : I. 'A description of Bengal in 1609 A.D.' (To, of a Persian account from the diary of Akbar Laili, a favourite retainer of Akbar Hasan, a brother of Mir Jahan) by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Bengal, Past & Present*, April-June 1925).

2. 'The Emperor Jahangir's 2nd Visit to Ahrmadabad' by M. S. Comtesse (*J. R. S.*, Sept. 1928).

3. '*Muzim-i-Jahangiri*' by Thakur Rani Singh, (*The Journal of Indian History* for Aug. 1928 & Aug. 1929.)

4. 'Bengal under Jahangir' by Sri Ram Sharma (*J. I. H.* Vol. XI, 3; XIII, 3; and XIV, 1).

5. 'Jahangir's Religious Policy', Sri Ram Sharma (*Indian Culture*, IV, 1, pp. 305-33, January 1932).

6. 'East India Co. and the Mughal Authorities during Jahangir's Reign' V. C. Joshi, *J. I. H.*, 1-2 (April-Aug., 1942).

## CHAPTER VII

### FRUITION OF THE EMPIRE

'No person is permitted to make or sell wine or any other prohibited liquor which contains intoxicity, though I myself am addicted to wine-bibbing.'—EDICTS OF JAHAŅGIR.

'Nir Jahan managed the whole affairs of the realm . . . and nothing was wanting to make her an absolute monarch but the meeting of the Akshita in her name.'—TARANA-I WALAY-I JAHANGIR.

The reign of Jahāngir (1605-27) saw the fruition of the Empire which Akbar had so gloriously rebuilt out of the slender resources left to him by his ill-lated father. The past half-a-century of remarkable reconstruction had established the Empire on secure foundations, which were not to be shaken at least for a century, in spite of numerous rebellions and wars of succession. More than anything else, Akbar's policy of conciliation and concord, begun with his marriage with the Amber princess, had in Dr. Bhai Prasad's words, "symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics : it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereignty : it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced."<sup>1</sup> Add to this, the legacy of peace and wealth that Akbar had bequeathed to his immediate successors, and we have a fairly complete picture of the favourable auspices under which Jahāngir opened his prosperous career.

However, as the character of our history at each stage is but the reflex of the Rājaguru's own character, we find reflected in this period also the personal vices and virtues of Jahāngir and his court.

It is convenient to divide our study under the following heads : I. Early Career : A Résumé ; II. Accession and Outlook ; III. Wars of Conquest ; IV. Nir Jahan and Religion ; V. Jahāngir and the Europeans ; and VI. Achievements and Features of Jahāngir.

#### I. EARLY CAREER : A RÉSUMÉ

The early career of Prince Salim up to the death of Akbar, already traced under the previous reign, may be here briefly resumed :

1. *History of Jahāngir*, p. 3.

Saltin was born on Wednesday noon, August 30, 1849, in the thirteenth year of Akbar's reign. Akbar was at that time twenty-seven years of age. Saltin's mother was the Rajput princess (daughter of Raja Bhoir Mal of Amber): whom Akbar had married in January 1852. All previous children of the Emperor having died in their infancy, he had brought the blessings of the famous Shalib Saffin Chapel, after whom the new child was called Muhammad Saltin Saffin.<sup>1</sup> Of the other children, Prince Masid was born on June 7, the same year, and Prince Dildarji on September 9, 1852. Both died in their prime of youth owing to excessive drinking.

Though Akbar was himself illiterate, he never neglected the education of his children. After their infancy.

**On Education.**—On October 25, 1853, the princes were placed under the guardianship of the best scholars and tutors of the age. The most notable of these, who moulded the character and intellect of Saltin at a very impressionable age (in 1852), was 'Asadullah Khan, the son of Bairam Khan. 'One of the first minds of the age,' he was a 'master of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit and Hindi . . . . A vigorous poem-writer and a facile versifier, he permeated his name in contemporary literature.'<sup>2</sup> His translation of Akbar's *Munshi* into Persian has already been mentioned. Under his able guardianship, Prince Saltin 'learned Turkish which served him later as the medium of conversation with John Hastings, and as the means of confidential consultation with one of his servants, when held in custody by Mahesh Khan. He picked up a fair acquaintance with Hindi and delighted in Hindi songs. He developed a somewhat poetic disposition, pursued his skill in versification, and loved his talk with poetic quotations.'<sup>3</sup> [By nature as well as nurture Saltin possessed a strong and virile constitution, which however was later spent by excessive indulgence and drink.]

1. 'I never heard my father, whether in his cups or in his sober moments, call me Muhammad Saltin or Salim Saffin, but always *Shalib Saffin*.'—[ibid.].

2. E. & D. op. cit., VI, pp. 96, 114.

3. 'As I have a poetical disposition, I sometimes intentionally, sometimes involuntarily, compose couplets and quatrains.'—[ibid.]; See *Prasad*, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

According to the wise custom of the dynasty, the princes were early associated with high public duties in order

(iii) Probation.

to train them for higher responsibilities. But this practice was not without its dangers. Holding offices of the highest rank in the provinces, with practically unlimited resources at their command, often tilted their ambition beyond the bounds of loyalty, and evoked in them a keen desire for permanent independence. Thus in the year of crisis, 1181, both Salim and Mas'ud were placed in command, though nominal, of large divisions of the army. Following this, Salim was placed in similar charge of the departments of justice and public ceremonial.<sup>1</sup>

At the age of fifteen Salim was betrothed to his cousin, Mîr Bâi,

(iv) Marriage. daughter of Râkâ Shapûrâ Dîn of Amboi. The marriage took place on February 13, 1265, the

marriage portion being fixed at two crans of tonkas. Both the Hindu and Muslim wedding ceremonies were observed. A daughter was born on April 26, 1266; she was named Sultân-unnisa Begum. Although she lived up to sixty years of age (d. 1343), she played no part in history. The second child, Prince Khizrî, born on August 6, 1267, was destined for a more prominent though tragic rôle. Mîr Bâi came to be called Shâh Begum after this. She committed suicide.

1. How, in the face of such examples, European writers often misrepresent Muslim history, is illustrated by the following passage in W. Crook's *The M. W. Feudalism of India*, pp. 122-3:—

"His [Alauddin's] immediate descendants, when they were educated at all, were trained in the old Hindu style—the recitation of the Koran, studies of theology, the dull verbiage of legal subtleties were their mental food. In early childhood they lived amidst the vain gossip and squallid intrigues of vicious women who filled the harem. As they grew up, the jealousy of rival groups forbade their taking a leading part in the politics of the capital. The land of hot-ribs failures and adventures, the palace gang, were active in their acquiring a competent knowledge of administration. A prince who took his proper part in the council of the State was suspected of interfering against the monarch; so he was often packed off to a distant province where the same influences opposed his training. The local viceroy acted as his leader, and took care to indoctrinate him and prevent him from meddling in the conduct of affairs. He was better pleased to see him waste his time in dispendage than to educate him in warcraft."

"Such, faulty writing," says René Passet, "compounded of ignorance and prejudice, is responsible for much of the prevalent misconception of Muslim history."—*History of Feudalism*, pp. 12-4 n. 62.

in a fit of melancholia. In 1684, when, according to Jangna-lla Salim 'remained for some days absorbed in grief for her loss.'

Meanwhile, Salim's warlike had grown considerably. In 1686 he had married Jagat Gerdik or Jodh Bai (daughter of Uday Singh) and others. According to Father Xavier, in 1687 Prince Salim had no less than twenty 'lawful wives'. His marriage with Miha-nallah (Nir Jahan) will be dealt with later. "Concubines raised the harem to the monstrous number of 300!" Prince Parvaz was born of Shik-i-Jahid on Oct. 2, 1689. Khurram (meaning Joyous : Shik Jahan) was born on Jan. 9, 1695, of Jagat Gerdik (Jodh Bai), Shahr-yih was born of a concubine in 1695.<sup>1</sup>

In 1577 Salim was elevated to the rank of 10,000, while Murad and Durrani held only ranks of 7,000 and 6,000

(iv) *Promotion.* respectively. In 1586 they received other insignia, and promotion to 12,000, 9,000, and 7,000 in order. But though during the next thirteen years Prince Salim lived in close association with Akbar, "the prevailing rift of political intrigue and ethnic hostility clouded their relation, estranged their hearts, and ultimately involved them in a bitter wrangle."<sup>2</sup>

The story of Salim's revolt has already been recounted in detail in its proper context. An early as 1581, he showed an indignant haste to succeed to his father's power and position. Badisai accuses him of poisoning Akbar; but says Haid Prasad, "the suspicion was unjust, but the illness (of Akbar) was a serious one. As a victory of the throne came within the range of possibility, Salim set his agents to watch the movements of his brother Murad."<sup>3</sup> The latter died of his own exertion on May 2, 1590.

When Akbar left for the south, Salim was in charge of the north, and particularly commissioned to invade Mewar. But he misused this confidence and chose to rebel. His revolt kept the Empire in trepidation for two years, but it never seriously jeopardised the stability of the government. Akbar's personality and his brilliant successes had won him the enthusiastic admiration and affection of his

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. VII.

2. Desi Prasad, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

subjects. His vast resources in men, money and materials, were more than enough to stamp out any rising within a short time. But his paternal tenderness kept him from making short work with Sallin. The Prince, on his part, was also aware of the weakness of his position, and shrank from carrying matters to extremes. He hesitated, and temporised, and occasionally even shook off the influence of his favourites and submitted to his father.

Nevertheless, in 1851, he had assumed independence, set up a mock Court at Allahabad, appropriated 36 lakhs of rupees from the treasury of Bihar, and bestowed dignities and titles on his supporters. He had gathered together a force of 30,000 men, with the only object of "paying his respects to his father"! But Akbar's dignified self-assurance soon brought him to his senses and he was reconciled with the government of Bengal and Oude. Here is Indrapati-Ra's testimony :—

When the Emperor was at Akbarabad (Agra), the Prince wrote to request the honour of an audience, and proceeded so far as Ghazni for the purpose: but two doubts were suggested to him by some ill-informed persons and he feared to advance any further. His Majesty was no sooner made aware of this circumstance, than he wrote to the Prince, that "if he were earnest in his wish to pay his respects, he ought to display his confidence by doing so alone, and decline his attendance to their dignities; if, on the contrary, suspicion withheld him, he had better retire to Allahabad, there to reassure his heart, and again to Court when he was able to do so with full trust and confidence." The Prince, alarmed at this kind of distrustful communication, instantly despatched Mir Saif-i-Jahan, who was the chief judiciary of the Imperial dominions, and His Majesty's agent with the Prince, to his august father, charged with the most submissive apology, and referring to the Mir's own observation in testimony of his sense of duty and allegiance. He then set towards Allahabad, and meanwhile an Imperial decree was issued, investing him with the government of Bengal and Oude, and directing him to despatch his officers to take possession of those two provinces. Mir Mir Singh was, at the same time, ordered to transfer the provinces, and to return to Court. \*

Despite this, however, Sallin again lapsed into his rebellious ways. This occasioned the summoning of Abu'l Fazi from the south, and his shameful assassination by the agent of the intractable Prince. Details thereof have already been given. This tragedy was enacted in August 1852.

1. *Painted Akbar-nama*, E. & D., VI, p. 308.

Though Salim deserved condign punishment, "the father and statesman in Akbar overcame the judge."<sup>1</sup>

(vii) Reconciliation. Dilyll was fast sliding into the grave on account of his own vices. Salim's children were too young to supersede him. Besides, Salim was still the favourite of the harem. So, as *Ishtiyas-Us* has recorded, "The Sultan Salim Begum, having interceded between His Majesty and the young Prince Salim, reconciled the monarch to the wicked excesses of paternal affection, while at the same time she also procured for Salim the pardon of Akbar's august mother. When the Prince approached the capital, that venerable mother proceeded some days' journey to meet him, and brought him to her own private abode. Even His Majesty, to conciliate his illustrious son, advanced several steps to receive him . . . After a short interval, His Majesty ordered on him the royal diadem, which is the main source of ornament to the Court and sovereignty, and the chief light of the pomp of royalty."<sup>2</sup>

In 1605, when he was asked for a second time to march on Meerut, Salim again procrastinated and imperilled.

(viii) Plan to supersede Salim. Finally, he made towards Aitahad under the pretext of collecting furs; and soon resorted

to his inimitable ways. There was evidently no end to Akbar's sorrows in his fast declining age. His great courtiers and friends had died one after another: Mir Rai in 1596, followed closely by Tarter Maj and Bhagwan Das; Sheikh Mohsinik (father of Abu'l Fazi and Fazi) in 1598; Fazi in 1599, Abu'l Fazi in 1602. In this gloomy state, Akbar's mind was tortured by disappointment at the ungrateful and treacherous conduct of his heir-apparent. Naturally, the thoughts of the ambitious, under these circumstances, turned to Prince Khurram (Salim's eldest son). He was the nephew of Raja Miran Singh, and son-in-law of Miran Asaf Khan—two of the most powerful grandees of the Empire. Khurram was seventeen years of age, handsome in appearance, agreeable in manners, and possessed an irreproachable character. He was only too glad to find such eminent champions. But it is impossible to say how far Akbar countenanced this plot to supersede his favourite son.

He made one last attempt (in Aug. 1604) to convert him into submission, or compel him into final surrender. But the wily inter-

1. *Deccan Press*, op. cit., p. 35.



waved. Indifferent Nature impeded the progress of his work, the imminent death of his aged mother, Maryem Mahied, accelerated his sudden retreat to Agra.

Prince Salim was quick to apprehend the danger he was in. He found it expedient to follow his father to the capital, to share in the family bereavement. After the interchange of ceremonial graces, Akbar reprimanded him severely and placed him in confinement under the care of physicians. Wine and evil company had damaged his mind, and hence he was deprived of both for a while. Salim passed his long days in humiliation and repentance. Close on the heels of these miseries came Akbar's last illness, and finally death on October 17, 1605.

Of the conspiracy that surrounded Akbar's death-bed we have already spoken. Only the main circumstances may be here recounted. In the end the plot to assassinate Salim was frustrated in the following manner, as described by Asaf Beg :—

"During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khwaja Asaf (Mirza Asaf Khan), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Raja Mirza Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Salim Khwaja Asaf's Emperor. They were both vested in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salim), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respects to Court. This conspiracy was revealed to Salim by his friend Mirza Kamrudin. So that, through the endeavours of that faithful friend and sincere well-wisher, the scheme of those perfidious wretches missed its mark ....

"When the raw attempt of these wretches had thus been brought to light .... they were obliged to throw off all dissimulation .... The Khwaja Asaf and Mirza Mirza Singh sat down, and calling all the nobles began to consult with them, and went so far as to say, "The character of the high and mighty Prince Salim Salim is well-known, and the Emperor's feelings towards him are notorious; for he by no means wishes him to be his successor. We must all agree to place Salim Khwaja Asaf on the throne."

"When this was said, Saifid Khan, who was one of the great nobles, and connected with the royal house, and descended from an ancient and illustrious Moghul family, cried out, "Of what do you speak, that in the substance of a Prince like Salim Salim, we should place his son upon the throne?" This is contrary to law and customs of the Chaghtai Tartars, and shall never do." .... The assembly broke up, and each went his own way.

"Raja Mirza Kamrudin, with all his followers, immediately went to guard the treasury, and Mirza Kamrudin left the fort, and retired to his

own residence, took steps to assemble the Saiyids of Barah and his own followers . . . . People began to flock in, each striving to be the first to arrive (where Prince Salim went), till at last, in the evening, the Milled Anam came to greet them and paid his respects. The Prince took not the least notice of his libelousness, and bestowed all royal kindness upon him.

"When Miran Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, he took Salim Khán with him to his own place, and prepared boats, intending to escape the next day to Bengal . . . . Although the royal boat (of Salim) was readied at hearing this, yet he sent Ishdhar Singh (Miran Singh's brother) to restrain and bring him back . . . His Majesty (Jahangir) gave his promise, with the warmest grace and kindness, that no harm should happen to him from any one . . . The next day 1604 Miran Singh came to Court, and brought Salim Khán to the feet of his royal father. His Majesty treated him with the greatest kindness, and clasping him in his bosom, kissed his face. When His Majesty had concluded this business, he passed some days in mourning and glazing his eyes, till at last, the day arrived for him to ascend the throne."<sup>1</sup>

## II. ACCESSION AND OUTLOOK.

According to Dr. Beni Prasad,<sup>2</sup> Salim mounted his father's throne in Agra Fort on Thursday, Oct. 24, 1605, when

(1) Accession. . . . he had completed thirty-six years of his age.<sup>3</sup>

The *Shāh-nāma* Jahangir, however, says: "On Thursday, the 8th Farash-e Sanī, 1024 AH (= 12th October, 1605), I ascended the throne at Agra, in the thirty-eighth year of my age."

[He assumed the name and title of Mirza-d-din Muhammad Jahāngir Shāh-e Ghāzī] and in the words of Asad Beg, began to win the hearts of all the people and to rearrange the withered world. He honoured many of the greatest nobles and powerful ministers and brave youths with honourable titles and acceptable dignities; for the consolation of the hearts of his people he suspended the Chain of Justice with golden bells, and removed the rust of oppression from the hearts of his people . . . . In the first few days he repealed and gave up all transit duties and fees, the poll-tax on Hindus and tax on orphaned property, and remitted them throughout the whole of the hereditary dominions. He also remitted and removed, root and branch, the whole of the duties and imposts levied on the produce of the soil or of mines, so that throughout the whole of Hindustan, and

1. *Shāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 568-9.

2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 126, 127, 130 n. 6.

3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 126.

wherever the jurisdiction of the Emperor extended, so one could do much to spare them.<sup>1</sup>

A word of comment is needed on the bestowal of some of the 'honourable titles and acceptable dignities'

(a) Comment referred to above. Under the circumstances that beset the new regime there were bound to be some persons who came to the fore only on account of indiscriminate support of their patron. The most notorious example of this was the promotion of Sir Singh Bhandela, the murderer of Akbar Faiz. He was raised to the 'dignity' of a commander of 3,000. On the other hand, Akbar Bahadur Khan, the son of the murdered victim, was worthily elevated though, in the first instance, only to the rank of 2,000. A third example to the nobility worthy of mention is Mirza Ghulam Beg, a Persian adventurer who was destined to become famous as *Shahid-ul-daulah*, the father of Mirza Jahans. At present he was only a commander of 1,500. Khan-i-Dauran Asir Koka and Raja Bala Singh suffered inevitable eclipse.

With regard to the Chain of Justice, there was nothing propitiatory about it, despite its being called 'silly' by Juddugli's European critics. Dowson writes: "In allusion to the silly stake of justice which the Emperor tells us he fastened from the palace at Agra to a stone pillar near the Janna .... It does not appear that it was ever shaken, and probably was never meant for anything but parade." However, he further points out that "The practice was a mere imitation of what was attributed to one of the early Chinese Emperors, Yu-to; and Raja Anangpal had already done the same at Delhi."<sup>2</sup> There is nothing more 'silly' in this than in the symbolic use of the mace to keep order in the British House of Commons, or the representation of the globe on the sceptres of kings, and a pair of scales, etc. as emblems of justice.<sup>3</sup>

"I established twelve ordinances to be observed, and to be the common

(20) The Twelve rule of prisons throughout my dominions.  
Inscribed.

MS. B. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 365n. Vincent Smith also calls it "a piece of silly superstition," — *ibid.*, p. 375. *Ibid.* "The Chain of Justice" by H. C. Raychaudhary in *Punjab Column*, VII<sup>th</sup> 1, July 1945, pp. 1-3.

3. "The first order which I issued was for the setting up of a Chain of Justice, so that if the officers of the courts of Justice should fail in the investigation of the complaints of the oppressed, and in granting them

1. *Prohibition of games (Zabâ)*: I include the levy of duties under the names of *loughat* and *mir-kashid*, together with the taxes of all descriptions which the *shikdars* of every *nah* and *sanjar* had been in the habit of exacting for their own benefit.

2. *Regulation about highway robbery and theft*. In those roads which were the scenes of robbery and theft, and in those portions of roads which were far from habitations, the *shikdars* of the neighbourhood were to build a fence or a *manqas*, and they were to sink a well, to be the means of promoting cultivation, and to induce people to settle there. If these places were near to *shikhs* lands, the Government officials were to carry out these provisions.

3. *Free inheritance of property of deceased persons*: *Firstly*—No one was to open the packages of merchants on the roads without their consent. *Secondly*—When any *infidel* or *Moslem* died in any part of my dominions, his property and effects were to be allowed to descend by inheritance, without interference from any one. When there was no heir, then officers were to be appointed to take charge of the property and to expend it, according to the law of *Malik*, in building mosques and wells, in repairing broken bridges, and in digging *baris* and wells.

4. *Of wine and all kinds of intoxicating liquors*: Wine and every sort of intoxicating liquor is forbidden, and must neither be made nor sold, although I myself have been accustomed to take wine, and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the 36th year of my age, have regularly partaken of it. . . .

5. *Prohibition of the taking possession of houses, and of cutting of the nose and ears of criminals*: No one was to take up his abode in the dwelling of another. I made an order prohibiting every one from cutting off the nose or ears of criminals for any offence, and I made a vow to heaven that I would never inflict this punishment on any one.

6. *Prohibition of gladiol*: The officers of the *shikhs* lands and the *shikdars* are not to take the lands of the *shikhs* by force, and cultivate them on their own account. The collectors of the *shikhs* lands and the *shikdars* are not without permission to form connections with the people in their districts.

7. *Building of hospitals and appointment of physicians to attend the sick*: Hospitals were to be built in large cities, and doctors were to be appointed to attend the sick. The expenses were to be paid from the royal treasury.

8. *Prohibition of slaughter of animals on certain days*: In imitation

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redress, the injured persons might come to this chain and shake it, and so give notice of their wrongs. I ordered that the chain should be made of pure gold, and be thirty gas long, with sixty bells upon it. The weight of it was four *Hindostani* *manas*, equal to thirty-two *manas* of *Irak*. One end was firmly attached to a battlement of the fort of *Agra*, the other to a stone column on the bank of the river.' (*Farqâh-i Akhshârî*, B. & D. esp. D., p. 284.)

of my lamentable father, I decreed that every year from the 18th Jishih-day, my birth-day, no schools should be dispensed for a number of days corresponding to the years of my age. In every week, also, the days were to be exempted from slaughter: Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, the birth-day of my father.

9. *Respect paid to Sunday*: He (my father) used to hold Sunday sacred and to pay it great respect, because it is dedicated to the great Lamester, and because it is the day on which the creation was begun. Throughout my dominions this was to be one of the days in which killing animals is interdicted.

10. *General comprehension of manhood and filial piety*: I issued a general order that the manhood and filial piety of my father's servants should be confirmed, and afterwards I increased the old manhood according to the merit of each individual . . . .

11. *Confirmation of other laws*: The other and miscellaneous laws throughout my dominions, which are devoted to the purposes of prayer and praise, I confirmed according to the terms of the grant in the hands of each grantee. *Walia, Sakh-i-Jahid*, who is of the poorer race of Soljids in Hindustan, and held the office of *Sakh* in the court of my father, was directed to look after the poor every day.

12. *Assurance for all prisoners in forts and in prisons of every kind*: All prisoners who had been long confined in forts or shut up in prisons, I ordered to be set free.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry Elliot's comments<sup>2</sup> on these ordinances give a wholly distorted picture of Jahangir and the Mughals. The prospects of a reign, so well begun were marred by the rebellion of the Emperor's eldest son, Prince Khurram:

[Khurram] was a very popular figure. Terry describes him as "a gentleman of a very lively presence and a fine carriage, an exceedingly beloved of the common people," that as Fosterkin writes of Titus, he was *amovet et delectat, deo*, the very love and delight of them. . . . He was a man who spent himself with one wife, which with all honours and care accompanied him in all his straits, and therefore he would never take any wife but herself, though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality."<sup>3</sup> [With all his personal charms, natural talents, fine education and manners etc.] David Frazer writes, "He was an immature youth of fiery temper and weak judgment—just the type of mind, which, joined with the advantages of high station

1. Ibid., pp. 284-85.

2. Ibid., pp. 458-514.

3. Cited by Smith, op. cit., p. 295.

and popularity, forms the most convenient point for intrigue and conspiracy."<sup>1</sup>

On April 6, 1885, evening, he escaped from semi-confinement, under the pretext of visiting his grand-father Akbar's tomb; really he made his way to the Punjab gathering troops with the help of Mirza Hasan (son of the powerful noble Mirza Shih Rukh).

Although the rebellious prince was only following in the footsteps of his father, the reflections of Jahangir on his recalcitrancy are worthy of notice, if only as a sample of the charge that authority brings over the character and outlook of persons. 'In the first year after my accession,' he writes, 'Khurshid, influenced by the petulance and pride which accompany youth, by his want of experience and wisdom, and by the encouragement of evil companions, got some absurd notions into his head.... They never reflected that sovereignty and government cannot be managed and regulated by men of limited intelligence. The Supreme Dispenser of Justice gives this high mission to those whom He chooses, and it is not everyone that can humbly wear the robes of royalty. The vain dreams of Khurshid and his foolish companions could end in nothing but trouble and disaster.'<sup>2</sup>

An alarm was raised, and the pursuit began. 'I despatched Shaikh Farid Bokhari on the service, directing him to take all the manuscripts and shahs he could collect. I determined that I myself would start as soon as it was day..... The news came in that Khurshid was proceeding toward the Punjab, but the thought came in my mind that he might perhaps be doing this as a blind, his real intention being to go elsewhere. Raja Man Singh, who was in Bengal, was Khurshid's maternal uncle, and many thought that Khurshid would proceed thither. But the men who had been sent out in all directions confirmed the report of his going towards the Punjab. Next morning I awoke, and placing my reliance on God, I mounted and set off, not allowing myself to be deceived by any person or anything.....'

'My distress arose from the thought that my son, without any cause or reason, had become my enemy; and that if I did not exert myself to capture him, dispirited and turbulent men would support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Libays or Kandahar, and thus disaster would fall upon my throne.'<sup>3</sup>

There is little interest in the details of the struggle. It terminated within three weeks (April 6-27, 1885). The governor of

<sup>1</sup> Dauli Parnas, op. cit., pp. 128-30.  
<sup>2</sup> Wajid-i Jahangir, E. & D., op. cit., p. 280.  
<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 128-289.

Lahore refused to open the gates for the rebel Prince, who was captured while trying to cross the Chenab.

'Before the defeat of Khilari, an order had been issued to all the *Aghas*, *amalgars*, and the *farman* in the Punjab, informing them of what had happened, and warning them to be careful.'

'On the 3rd of Muharram 1215 A.H., Khilari was brought into my presence in the garden of Mirza Khasra, with his hands bound and a chain on his leg, and he was led up from the left side, according to the rule of Chongli Khia. .... I attended my guests joined in this expedition to Sheikh Fariq, and I dignified him with the title of *Shahzad Khia*. To strengthen and confirm my rule, I directed that a double row of water should be set up from the garden to the city, and that the *atals* should be impaled there, and thus receive their deserts in this most excruciating punishment. The householders between the Chenab and Ravi who had perished their loyalty, I rewarded by giving to each one of them some lands as *malik-ud-daulat*.'

Guru Arjan, the head of the Sikh community, was sentenced to death, as an accomplice of the rebel Prince, and his property, including his herbage, was confiscated. His offence consisted in giving Rs. 5000 to Khilari, which the Guru justified on grounds of his distress and gratitude for past kindness received from Akbar, "and not because he was in opposition to thee." Jahangir, in the first instance, had only fined him two lakhs of rupees, and ordered him to expunge from the *Gurmukh Sahib* passages opposed to the Hindus and the *Musalman*. But to this Guru Arjan replied: "Whatever money I have is for the poor, the *haram* and the stranger. If thou ask for money, thou must take what I have; but if thou ask for it by way of fine, I shall not give thee even a *Kauri* (*shell*), for a fine is imposed on wicked, worldly persons, and not on priests and authorities. And as to what thou hast said regarding the *status* of *haram* in the *Gurmukh Sahib*, I cannot erase or alter an iota. .... The hymns which find a place in it are not disrespectful to any Hindu incarnation or Mahomedan prophet. It is certainly stated that prophets, priests, and incarnations are the hand-work of the Immortal God whose limit none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and destruction of falsehood, and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great good fortune.'

Commenting on this Dr. Deol Prasad observes: "The *malik*-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

sholy vassalage, has been represented by Sikh tradition as the first of the long series of religious persecutions which the Khalsa suffered from the Moghal Emperors. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. Without minimising the gravity of Jahangir's mistake, it is only fair to recognise that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjun himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not exposed the crimes of a rebel.<sup>1</sup> V. A. Smith also writes, "The punishment, it will be observed, was inflicted as a penalty for high treason and contumacy, and was not primarily an act of religious persecution."<sup>2</sup>

Khanda himself was blinded and imprisoned; subsequently he partially recovered his sight, but not his liberty.<sup>3</sup> He was destined to be a pawn in the political game, ultimately to be disposed off under very tragic and suspicious circumstances.

### III. WARS OF CONQUEST

The principal wars under Jahangir were those leading to the final subjugation of Muzir in 1614, the conquest of Ahmadnagar in

1. *East Prasad*, op. cit., pp. 148-50.

2. *Smith*, op. cit., p. 256. Also see "Jahangir's Relation with the Sikhs," K. P. Mehta, *J. H. O.*, XXI, 2, pp. 41-49; and A. C. Banerjee, *J. H. O.*, XXI, 2, II, 136-8, 1945.

3. The blinding of Khanda was the result of another misadventure attempted in his favour. The plot was hatched when Jahangir had been away in Kabul, to assassinate him on one of his hunting expeditions and place Khanda on the throne. There were, however, too many conspirators and the whole plan was betrayed to Jahangir. The conspirators were caught and executed. The Prince was further victimised as a result of the excessive solicitude of his well-wishers. The *Ishtikhār-Jahangir-Shahi* gives the following account of the blinding:—

"His Majesty ordered Prince Khanda to be deprived of his sight. When the writ was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him that it is beyond all expression. The Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Agra; and the paternal love again revived. The most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the Prince, that they might become as sound as they were before. One of the physicians of Farda, Hadim Ismail by name, undertook to cure the Prince within six months. By his skill, the Prince recovered his original power of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a total defective in that respect, and also became smaller than its natural size. After the lapse of the assigned time, the Prince was presented to His Majesty, who showed the aliphans great favour, and honoured him with the title of *Ahmadnagar Zada*.—*E. of D.*, op. cit., pp. 167-68.

*East Prasad* observes, "After weighing all available evidence, my conclusion is that the version of the *Ishtikhār-Jahangir* comes nearer the truth than any other. The author writes with inside knowledge."—*History of Jahangir*, pp. 167-8 and n.



1554, the capture of Kilgna in 1520, and the loss of Khandahar in 1622. There were also a few others relating to minor conquests and insurrections which will be related in due course.

"No community that ever entered can boast of a more romantic

(ii) *Mirza*.

history, of more heroic exploits, of a grander sense of honour and self-respect than the Rajputs of medieval India. . . . As one glides through the Rajput tradition, the mind staggers at the heights of valour, devotion, and stoicism to which humanity can soar. The Rajput spirit appears in its very quintessence in the dispassioned annals of Mirza. . . . Their (Shikoh's) intimate knowledge of the tilas and defiles, narrow, obscure passes and hidden, mysterious pathways, was of the highest value to the Rajputs in their days of adversity. But for them, the history of Mirza might have run a different course.

"Through Mirza, or close to her boundary, passed the highways of commerce between the fertile Gangetic plains and the seaports of India on the Western coast. So long as Mirza was independent, the merchants of the Delhi Empire could not riposte on these highways adequate severity of power and property or freedom from taxation tolls. That was one reason why Mughal Emperors could never reconcile themselves to the idea of an independent Mirza. There was, of course, the imperishable motive which prompted the extinction of the last ruler of Rajput independence, but in fairness to the Mirzas it is necessary to emphasize the economic cause which has generally been overlooked by historians."

We have already traced the history of the Rajputs under Akbar. It will not, however, be out of place here to recall to mind Col. Tod's oft quoted eulogium:

"Had Mirza possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Poliporens nor 'the Retreat of the Ten Thousand,' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the Historic Muse, than the deeds of this brilliant reign (of Purbi) until the sorry termination of Mirza. Undaunted heroism, indefatigable fortitude, that which keeps honour bright, perseverance with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unflinching courage, and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to combat with one unconquerable mind. There is not a page in the annals of Mirza that is not enriched by some deed of Purbi—some brilliant victory and often some glorious defeat. Halidighat is the Thermopylae of Mirza; the Field of Dewar her Marathon."

But all this was to suffer eclipse in the present reign. On the banks of the Peushla, the dying Purbi, like Hannibal to Hannibal, had sworn his son and nation "by the throne of Hippa Nimal" to eternal enmity with the Moghal. Anwar Singh, however, though un-

doctly great in many ways, was obliged to bow his proud head before Khurram.

On his accession, Jahāngir, as if to make amends for his own deviation in his father's regime, immediately despatched an army of 20,000 horse against Mewar, under the command of Prince Parvā and Asaf Khān (Jahān Bég)—not to be confounded with the more famous brother of Mūs Jahān. The armies encountered each other at Deoli; the engagement is one of the disputed battles in history. Both sides claimed the victory.<sup>1</sup> But, whatever be the truth, on account of the situation created by Khurram's rebellion, Parvā and his forces were recalled to the capital: 'all was stopped by the unhappy outbreak of Khurram,' writes Jahāngir. 'I was obliged to pursue him to the Punjab, and the capital and interior of the country was desolated of troops. I was obliged to write to Parvā, directing him to return to protect Agra and the neighbourhood, and to remain there; so the campaign against the Rājā was suspended.'<sup>2</sup>

The second expedition was sent two years later (1608) under the personal command of Mahābat Khān. The entire force consisted this time of 12,000 horse, 500 *akshātis*, 2,000 musketeers, 60 elephants, 80 pieces of small artillery mounted on camels and elephants. Twenty lakhs of rupees were allotted for expenses. Yet, while the Mughals won sporadic victories, they failed to make effective headway in the enemy's country.

The next year (1609) Mahābat Khān was replaced by Abdullāh Khān in command. The latter is described as 'a valiant soldier, a rash commander, and a cruel and ruthless sort of man.' From Kumbhāshir (28°9' N. and 79°35' E. 40 miles North of Udaipur city; 3,568 ft. above sea-level), the radio-tortoise built by Rājā Kumbhā (1603-58), he made such a dash upon Amer Singh, that the latter came near to losing his life. The war went on with varying fortunes on either side, until the recall of Abdullāh Khān to the South on account of the exigencies of the Deccan campaign (to be noticed presently).

After a short experiment with Rājā Bāru, the command finally (1610) came to Khān-i Asam Asaf Khān (Rājā's father-in-law):

1. *Ibid.*, ii, 337.

2. *I. E. & R.*, op. cit., p. 268.

'one of the hypocrites and old wolves of this State' (so Jahangir called him) and Prince Khurram. The two inevitably quarrelled, and the former was recalled and placed in confinement in the fort of Gwalior (April 1614). Khurram's charge against him was that he was 'spoiling matters simply on account of the connection he had with Khiljī' and that his presence was 'in no way fitting.' However, he was soon set free.

Khurram, now left in absolute command, conducted the campaign with consummate ability. He reduced the

The Last Campaign.

Rājā to great straits by devastating his country and cutting off his supplies. In fact, Anar

Singh found himself in the same plight as his father in 1578-81. In the words of Jahangir, 'Being helpless, he resolved to succumb, and to do homage. He sent his maternal uncle Salāh Karan, and Haridās Jadhā, one of his most trusty and intelligent servants, paying try son to overlook his offences, and to give him an assurance of safety under the princely seal; he would then wait upon him in person to pay homage, and would send his son and half-brother to the Imperial Court, so that he might be classed among the adherents of the throne like all other rājās. He also begged that an amount of old age he might be excused from proceeding to Court.....My son wrote me the particulars in a despatch.

'Rājā Anar Singh, and his ancestors, relying upon the security of his mountains and his horses, had never seen one of Kings of Hindustan, and had never shown obedience: but now in my fortunate reign he had been compelled to make his submission.'<sup>1</sup> Jahangir graciously accepted the submission and even restored Chitor to the Rājā, but with the express condition that it should neither be fortified afresh, nor even repaired.

In utter humiliation Rājā Anar Singh, some time after, abdicated in favour of his eldest son Karan Singh; the Rājā ever after remained loyal to the Moghls until the third invasion of Aurangzeb again drove Rājā Rāj Singh into open rebellion. Meanwhile, Karan Singh was placed 'in the right hand of the circle in the *darbār* and presented with a superb dress of honour and a jewelled sword. In March, 1615, at the next *Nawar* celebrations, he received the rank of 5,000 *ah* and *savā*; and what is more, two life-size equestrian statues of Anar Singh and Karan were made,

in appreciation of their value, and set in the palace garden within view of the jharokha window at Agra.<sup>1</sup> When Karam left for his home, he received by way of a farewell gift a horse, a special elephant, a dress of honour, a string of pearls of the value of Rs. 50,000 and a jewelled dagger worth Rs. 2,000. Jahangir calculated that 'from the time of his waiting on me till he obtained leave, what he had, in the shape of cash, jewellery, etc., was of the value of Rs. 2,00,000 with 110 horses, five elephants, in addition to what my son Khurram bestowed on him at various times.'<sup>2</sup> But what of the loss of dignity and freedom? The proud Shah could never be compensated.

It will be remembered that Akbar had hastily concluded his Deccan campaign with the siege of Adilgarh

(2) Ahmed- (1621), on account of Salim's rebellion in the  
nagar, north. Since then, Miran Ashtar, an able

Afghan in the service of Ahmadnagar, had done much to consolidate the position of Miran Shah in the north. He had both military and administrative talent, and had remodelled the revenue system of his state on the principles of Raja Todar Mal. He was a master of the military tactics of the Marathas, and took the fullest advantage of the political situation as well as of the peculiar strategic resources of his own country and state. He now set himself the task of recovering the dominions lost to the Mughals.

Burhanpur was the Mughal head-quarters in the north. There the puppet, Prince Parvta held his petty court; or, as Sir Thomas Roe puts it, 'the prince hath the name and state, but the Khan (Khán) governs all.' From 1604-15 the heavy campaign dragged on, noble exceeding noble as commander; but all equally futile. The war was carried on on two fronts: (1) against the enemy, and (2) within the Mughal camp itself (viz. of mutual recrimination among the nobles!). From 1606-30 the Khan-Khanan was in command; from 1610-12 Khan Jahan Lodi with the assistance of Khan Zaman, Miran Singh and Abdallah Khan (of Miranpur Khas). At the end of this period the Khan-Khanan was again appointed to the northern command. This time he retained his position, mainly on account of clarity in the enemy's camp. He was continued

1. *Badshahnama*, op. cit., p. 248 n. 53.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-7 n. 32.

all 1616, when Prince Khurram, ambitious to win fresh laurels, took his place.

Towards the close of October, 1616, Khurram's camp equipage started from Ajmer for the Deccan. Next month the Prince was bestowed with the title of *Shah* or King "which no Turkish prince had ever received"<sup>1</sup> and loaded with presents he set out on his grand campaign. In Roe's estimate one of the swords he received was valued at Rs. 1,00,000, and another dagger was worth Rs. 40,000. Jahangir also prepared to move south, on Tuesday, Nov. 30, 1606. The whole pageant of his march has been well described by Sir Thomas Roe and Terry, his chaplain, who were eyewitnesses. The former says, 'the mile showed like a beautiful city', and coolly adds, 'I was supplied with carriage and warehoused of my provision; but five years allowance would not have furnished me with one indifferent suit, suitable to others. . . . So I returned to my poor house.' The latter writes of the camp royal "which indeed is very glorious, as all must confess, who have seen the infinite number of tents, or pavilions there pitched together, which in a plain make a show equal to a most spacious and glorious city. These tents, I say, when they are all together, cover such a quantity of ground, that, I believe it is five English miles at the least, from one side of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from some hill, where they may be all seen at once."

The Imperial camp reached Mirdā (lat. 23° 20' N. long. 75° 20' E., 1,044 ft. above sea) after four months, on March 6, 1617,<sup>2</sup> where a splendid shade had been prepared for the reception at a cost of Rs. 2,00,000.

Prince Khurram, who started in advance, was joined by Karam Singh (of Mirdā) with 1,500 Rajput horse. They reached Burhanpur on March 6, 1617.<sup>3</sup> But in spite of the pompous equipage, or because of it, the Nizams won their objective without striking a blow. Peace was restored on the restoration of the Bidgah territory, recently seized by Malik Ambar, the delivery of the lions of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds, and the payment of tribute by the Deccan chieft.

Shah Khurram returned to the Imperial camp at Mirdā on

1. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

2. See *Ibid.*, pp. 287-91.

3. This date is correct in date needs to be revised.

October 12, 1647, with treasures and 'offerings such as had never come in any reign or time.'<sup>1</sup> Altogether his presents were estimated at Rs. 2,200,000.<sup>2</sup> 'After he had performed the duty of salutation and kissing the ground,' writes Jahāngīr, 'I called him up into the *shawkha*, and with unceasing kindness and delight rose from my place and held him in the embrace of affection. In proportion as he strove to be humble and polite, I increased my favours and kindness to him and made him sit near me.' He was, besides, promoted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *alt* and *nash*, and honoured with the title of *Shāh Jahān* or King of the World.

The *Khān Khānān*, *Abdur Rahīm Khān* (son of *Bakram Khān*) was appointed Governor of *Bomb*, *Khaskhash* and *Ahmadnagar*, and his eldest son, *Shāh Nasir Khān* was put in charge of 10,000 *hums* in the newly added territory. Altogether 20,000 cavalry and 7,000 musketeers were left in the Deccan under reliable officers, and disposition was made for both the defence and administration of these provinces.

But this was only a truce and no permanent pacification of the Deccan. So long as the astute and intrepid *Malik Ambar* was alive, there could be no lasting peace. No sooner than the Imperial arms were even partially withdrawn, or the political situation became favourable, he resorted to his strength. By 1620 he practically won back all that he had lost by the previous treaty. This recomenced sending *Shāh Jahān* once more against him. Similar results followed (1621). 'After much entreaty on the part of the rebel,' writes Jahāngīr, 'it was settled that besides the territory which was formerly held by the Imperial officers, a space of fourteen *kos* beyond should be relinquished, and a sum of 50 *lakh* of rupees should be sent to the Imperial treasury.'<sup>3</sup>

Still later, in 1623, both *Bijapur* and *Ahmadnagar* sought Imperial aid, each against the other. *Mahabat Khān* preferred the former, which inevitably created hostility with the latter. Finally, *Malik Ambar* died in 1626, and the Deccan problem remained as unsolved as ever. The impression *Malik Ambar* had made, even on his enemies, is indicated by the following appreciation of him by *Muhammad Khān*, the Mughal courtier-chronicler:—

'Intelligence now arrived of the death of *Ambar* the *Abrūshīrān*. In the 802<sup>nd</sup> year of his age, on *Riz* *Ushshāh*. This *Ambar* was a slave,

1. For details see *BAC*, p. 381.

2. *Wāqat-i Jahāngīrī*, II, & 13, ap. ed., VI, p. 380.

but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory (barbaric) warfare, which is the language of the Dakhni is called *harighat*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Alaudian slave arriving at such eminence.<sup>1</sup>

This a beautiful and well-fortified region in north-eastern Punjab, impossible on account of its geographical configuration.

[Lat. 31°35' and 32°05' : long. 75°30' and 78°05']. The *Shah Feroz Kalagra* thus refers

to the fort and its history : 'The fort of Kalagra is very lofty, and stands on a high hill. Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong ; in so much that no king was ever able to take it ; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient *Rajās*, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in the possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan kings who have reigned in this country. From A.D. 720, or the commencement of Sultan Ghaffar-ud-din's power, to the year 963, when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort has been besieged no less than 52 times by the most powerful kings, and rulers, but no one has been able to take it. Firuz, who was one of the greatest Kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled all his efforts ; for at last he was contented with having an interview with the *Rajā*, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hussa Kuli Khan Turanani, entitled Khwa-Jahan, Governor of the province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Punjab ; but notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it. . . . It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahangir, under the influence of whose prosperous war all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed.'<sup>2</sup>

The task was accomplished by *Rajā* Bihmarchit acting under

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 428-9.  
2. *Ibid.*, p. 526. For details of the conquest, which are very interesting, see *Ibid.*, pp. 528-31.

the command of Shih Khurram. 'He took possession of all the treasures which had been amassed by the *Khān* of that place from ancient times. From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the information of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms among the poor and the needy.'<sup>1</sup>

'On Monday, 5th Muharram, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kānga arrived..... When this humble individual', writes Jahāngīr, 'ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Mustāfī Khān, Governor of the Punjab, against it with a large force, but Mustāfī died before his reduction was accomplished. Chāgha Khān, son of Fāzī Bānū, was afterwards sent against it: but the water ebbed, his army was broken up, and the fort of the fortress was destroyed. Not long after, the traitor was made prisoner and was executed and sent to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince Khurram was afterwards sent against it with a strong force, and many nobles were directed to support him. In the month of Shawwāl, 1008 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were perforated out, and the ingress of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men lived upon dry fodder, and similar things which they boiled and ate; but when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance remained, the place surrendered on Monday, Muharram 1, 1011. (November 18, 1600).

'The extreme heat of Agra was congenial to my constitution,.... and as I had a great desire for the air of Kānga.... I went to pay a visit to the fortress.... After passing over about half a *kos* (three *Dahoms*) we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *adhān* was read, a *naṣ* was killed, and other things were done, such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All this was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous conquest had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress.'<sup>2</sup>

Kandah, on account of its situation and importance, both commercial and military, was a constant source of friction between the Mughals and the Persians. It had been conquered, as we have seen, by Shāh in 1572, and kept by his sons, Murādī and Khānī. It slipped away

<sup>1</sup> T. Bah. no. 584-85.  
<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 274-275; 282-83.



in 1553, but was re-acquired by Akbar in 1594. The revolt of Khilwā, at the commencement of the present reign, gave the Persians an opportunity, and Shāh Abbās (1587-1629) instigated the chiefs of Khorezm and others to attack Kandahār. But the Mughal commander of the fort, Shāh Beg Mirza, proved more than a match for the Persians. Besides, reinforcements from India soon arrived (1607), to the utter discomfiture of the enemy.

Foiled in this indirect attempt, Shāh Abbās inspired indignation at the mischievous activities of his subjects, declared the attack was unauthorized, professed sincere friendship towards Jahāngir, and hoped that the unfortunate circumstance would leave no unpleasantness behind. Jahāngir naïvely accepted these diplomatic protestations of his remote neighbour, went to Kabul, directed a futile campaign against the predatory tribes of Bangash, ordered repair of the roads from Kandahār to Candā, and occupied himself in some benevolent activities, established certain customs duties at Kabul, planted trees and improved gardens, and set out for Lahore in August, 1607, after a sojourn of eleven weeks. These events occurred between the rebellion of Khilwā and the plot to assassinate Jahāngir that we have already mentioned.

In the meanwhile, Shāh Abbās, who never gave up his designs upon Kandahār, tried to cover up his sinister intentions by the exchange of diplomatic embassies, gifts, and other graces. Thus, he sent Persian ambassadors to the Mughal Court in 1611, 1615, 1616, and 1620, loaded with alluring presents and letters containing *subtleties* and studied flattery. A sample may be here given for more than the amusement it affords :—

"May the demands of sovereignty and rule and the need of respectfulness and studied happiness of His Honour of heavenly dignity, of infinite greatness, the King whose fortune is young, of Saturn-like majesty, the renowned Prince, possessing the authority of the spheres, the Khedive, the world-gripper (Jahāngir) and money-conquering sovereign, the Prince of the exaltedness of Sincerity, with banner, of Darius, he who sits in the perfumes of greatness and glory, the possessor of the (universal) crown, the increase of the joys of good fortune and prosperity, adorer of the gardens of happiness, dispenser of the resplendence, lord of the happy conjunction (of the planets), the owner of the constancy, the perfection of Kingship, repository of the mysteries of the sky, the adornment of the face of learning and insight, ruler of the hosts of sciences, conterminator of human perfections, mirror of the glory of God, simulator of the lofty soul, increaser of good fortune and of life beneficent.

ascension, run of the gamut of the skies, the shadow of the benignity of the Creator, he who has the dignity of Jambhul among the stars of the firmament of heaven, lord of conjunction, refuge of the world, river of the fountains of life, and fountain of unending mercy, witness of the plain of purity, may his hand (O, witness) be guarded from the calamity of the evil eye; may his fountain of perfection be preserved in truth, his desire and love; the tale of his good qualities and benevolence cannot be written.<sup>1</sup>

These compliments were only a camouflage; behind the wholesome-sounding of fine phrases the Shâh was mobilising mischief. When he thought that the time had come, owing to the internal situation in India, he did not hesitate to strike an effective blow. Kandahâr was once more besieged in 1622, and finally taken by the Persians in 1625. Jahângir thought of elaborate preparations of war, which he hoped to carry right to the Persian capital; but all this miscarried on account of Shâh Jahan's rebellion. Here is Jahângir's description of the situation :—

'A despatch arrived from the son of Shâh Jahan, reporting that Shâh Aram, King of Persia, had laid siege to the fort of Kandahâr with the forces of Isak and Khosrow. I gave orders for calling troops from Kandahâr, and Khwâja Abu-Husain Muhsin and Sadik Shâh Bakhsh were sent on in advance of me to Lahore, to organise the forces as the prisoners brought them up from the Delâwâr, Golast, Bengul, and Biter, and as the nobles came from their *ajiqs* and assembled, and then to send them on in accordance to the son of Shâh Jahan at Multan (where the forces were to be concentrated). Artillery, mortars, elephants, treasure, arms, and equipments were also to be sent on thither.....For such an army 100,000 *bullocks* or more would be needed.....But Bairam *Shâh* whom I had sent to recruit Khairat (who was to be placed in command) returned and reported that the Prince would come after he had passed the rainy season in the fort Mîrshid. When I read and understood the contents of the Prince's letter, I was not at all pleased or rather I was disappointed.<sup>2</sup>

After the capture of Kandahâr, the Shâh had the courtesy to write to Jahângir, declaring that Kandahâr had rightly belonged to the Persians and that Jahângir ought to have voluntarily surrendered it to him, and expressing at the same time that 'the ever verbal bonds of union and cordiality (between the two sovereigns) would remain in bloom and (that) every effort be made to strengthen the foundations of concord.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Cited by Paul French, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-7, n. 1.

2. *Id.*, p. 227, *op. cit.*, V.I. p. 262.

3. Paul French, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

Before we proceed to consider the circumstances and details of Shih Jishi's revolt, we might briefly describe (2) *minor revolts*—some of the minor conquests under Jahangir.

In 1615, a Muslim youth named Qutb had tried to impersonate Prince Khurram and create trouble in Faiz. He was soon arrested and there was an end of the affair. Not more formidable was the continuation farther east. The refractory Afghans in Bengal had never been fully subjugated. In 1619 under their leader, Umrin Khan, they had rebelled against Mir Singh's grandson Mirdad Singh. Though Mir Singh, when he returned to the province temporarily, subdued them, they still continued to give trouble in the earlier years of Jahangir's reign. The frequent change of governors afforded the rebels ample opportunities. Finally, in 1628, when Jahan Khan was appointed to this eastern province, he changed his head-quarters from Rajshahi to Dacca (then called Jahangirnagar), so as to be able to deal with the rebels effectively. Prolonged operations having proved fruitless, a grand campaign was organised under the command of Sulaiman Khan. Finally, the Afghans fighting bravely, and almost recklessly, were conquered. On April 1, 1632, Jahangir received the glad tidings of the victory, attested by the head of Umrin, 'the last of the brave Afghans.' Thereafter, Jahangir treated the Afghans with great clemency and promoted them to some of the highest ranks in the Imperial hierarchy.

Khandah, in Orissa, with its famous temple of Jagannath was subdued after brave resistance, by its Raja Purushottam Deo, who was obliged to yield and send his daughter to the Imperial harem. This was effected by Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal, in 1611. In 1618 Khondham, in the wilds of Bihar, was captured from its ruler Dargan Sahi, because of its valuable diamond mines which were declared a state monopoly. The conquest was effected by Ibrahim Khan (brother of Nur Jahan), on whom was bestowed the title of *Amir Jang* with the rank of 4000. In 1617 Parichhat Deo of Khandah again rebelled, and his territory was finally annexed to the Empire by Malikram Khan, the Governor of Orissa. This brought the Mughal Frontier on this side to the borders of Golconda. In the same year, the tribes of Bin and Bhara in Cutch were subdued by Raja Bikramjit whom the Shah Jahan calls 'an old, brave, and experienced chief, who was very faithful to the throne. . . . whom the Prince [Shah Jahan] had used every endeavour to obtain submission, the gold of whose friendship, when tried

by the black-stone had turned out pure and red,' etc.). In 1529 Kishinev, to the north of Kaskani, with its rich fruits and saffron, was taken from its fight, who rebelled and was again subdued in 1533. This state, though it was small, yielded a revenue of Rs. 1,50,000.

#### IV. NUR JAHAN AND REACTIONS

Now we come to the most interesting part of Jahangir's story. All the remaining events, as well as some of those we have already mentioned, are to be connected with the advent of Nur Jahan. She forms as it were the pivot or the principal hinge on which the history of the rest of the reign turns. The rebellions of Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan were primarily reactions of the workings of Nur Jahan's influence. "No history is medieval history," declares Hans Friedl, "has been decided in such moments as the reign of Nur Jahan calls to the mind." No incident in the reign of Jahangir has attracted such attention as his marriage with Nur Jahan. For half fifteen years that celebrated lady stood forth as the most striking and most powerful personality in the Mughal Empire.<sup>1</sup> But, as regards the many romantic legends that have gathered round her name, he very properly says, "It is all very fascinating but it is not history. Sober history unfolds a tale lacking in such a picturesque romance, but full of human interest."<sup>2</sup>

The best reliable and brief account of Nur Jahan's history is contained in the following passage from Motamed Khan's *Tahsil-nama-i Jahangiri* :—

"Among the great events that occurred during this interval (sixth year of the original year) the Emperor Jahangir's demanding Mirzabade Begum in marriage. This subject might be expanded into volumes, but we are necessarily confined to a limited space in thus describing the strange doings of Fate. Mirza Ghiyas Beg, the son of Khwaja Muhammad Sherfi, was a native of Tabriz. Khwaja Muhammad was, first of all, the name of Muhammad Khata Tahir, governor of Khwarezm. After the death of Muhammad Khata, he entered the service of the renowned King Tabriz-Salard, and was associated with the sovereignty of Yazd. The Khwaja had two sons Ala Tahir and Mirza Ghiyas Beg ..... After the death of his father (1577), Mirza Ghiyas Beg, with two sons and a daughter, travelled to Hindustan. On the road, as he was passing through Kandahar, by the blessing of god, another daughter was born to him.

<sup>1</sup> E. B. D., op. cit., VI, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> E. History of Jahangir, pp. 121-122.

Statues: Mughal Empire]



NUR JAHAN BEGUM



In the city of Fushing, he had the good fortune to be presented to the Emperor Akbar. In a short time owing to his devotion to the King's service, and his intelligence, Mirza Ghiyas Beg was raised to the office of almir or superintendent of the household. He was considered accordingly clever and skillful, both in writing and in transcribing business. He had studied the old poets, and had a nice appreciation of the meaning of words; and he wrote always in a bold and elegant style. His leisure moments were devoted to the study of poetry and style, and his generosity and benevolence to the poor was such that no one ever turned from his door disappointed. In taking bribes, however, he was very bold and daring. When His Highness the Emperor Akbar was staying at Lahore, Ali Kuli Beg Baka, who had been brought up under Shah Ismail II, having come from the kingdom of Irak, became included among the number of the royal courtiers, and, as Fate ordered it, married the daughter of Mirza Ghiyas Beg who had been born in Kharechah. Afterwards in the reign of Jahangir, he received a suitable mansion, and the title of Sher-Afghan was conferred on him. He next received a slight in the province of Bengal, and departed thence to take possession. The murder of Khus-i din Khán (Governor of Bengal) and his own death have already been related. After the death of Khus-i din, the officials of Bengal, in obedience to royal command, sent to Court the daughter of Ghiyas Beg, who had been married to the title of Khawar-i zamini, and the King, who was greatly distressed at the murder of Khus-i din, entrusted her to the keeping of his own royal mother. There she remained some time without notice. Since, however, Fate had decreed that she should be the Queen of the World and Princess of the Time, it happened that on the celebration of New Year's Day in the sixth year of the Emperor's reign (March, 1615), her appearance caught the Emperor's far-seeing eye, and he captivated him that he selected her

3. It was reported that Sher-Afghan was inordinately and dignified to be rebellious. When Khus-i din was sent to Bengal (Aug. 1608) he was directed to look after Sher-Afghan; if he was found to be fond and stupid, he was to be maintained in his style; but if not, he was to be sent to Court, or to be brought to punishment if he delayed in joining others. Khus-i din formed a bad opinion of his serious and way of life. When he was summoned to appear before the victory, he made unreasonable excuses, and cherished evil designs. Khus-i din made a report upon his conduct to the Emperor, and the Imperial order was given for sending him to Court. The victory was also directed to carry out the instructions he had received, and to bring Sher-Afghan to punishment if he manifested any disloyalty. On receiving this command Khus-i din immediately proceeded to Barhwa (March, 1609) which was the place of Sher-Afghan. Supposing there was a design against him, Sher-Afghan, in the course of conversation, "before any one could suspect, ran his sword into the victory's belly and shot him. Mirza Khus-i din, a brave officer, followed against Sher-Afghan and struck him on the head with a sword, but Sher-Afghan returned it so deadly that he killed his assailant at a blow. The other attendants now pressed forward in numbers, and dispatched Sher-Afghan with their swords.—*Tabak-i Akbari*, Jahangir, E. & O., op. cit. VI, pp. 408-9.

among the inmates of his select harem (May, 1811). Day by day her influence and dignity increased. First of all she received the title of *Mir Mahal*, "Light of the Harem," but was afterwards distinguished by that of *Mir Jahan Begum*, "Light of the World." All her relations and connections were raised to honour and wealth.....No guest of honour was confined upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Mir Jahan the dignities of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name, with this inscription: "By order of the King Jahangir, gold had a hundred subdivisions added to it, 100, reserving the designation of the name of Mir Jahan, the Queen Begum." On all Janamas also receiving the Imperial signature, the name "Mir Jahan, the Queen Begum," was jointly attached. At last her authority reached such a point that the King was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Mir Jahan Begum, and would say, "I require nothing beyond a bit of wine and half a bit of meat." It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression; and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned.<sup>1</sup>

Plain and unvarnished as this tale is, there has been a great controversy over the alleged crime of Jahangir. He has been charged with the murder of Sher-Afghan, which he is believed to have brought about in order to marry Mihrunnisa. It is said, on the strength of various legends, including a statement in *De Ligt-vein* says that Jahangir was in love with Mihrunnisa "when she was still a maiden, during the life-time of Achubar (Akbar) but she had already been betrothed to the Turk Cheer Afghani (Sher-Afghan), and hence his father would not allow him to marry her, although he never entirely lost his love for her."<sup>2</sup> But Dr. Beni Prasad has very ably made out a case acquitting Jahangir, which seems quite plausible. "An attentive study of contemporary authorities," he contends, "and of the well-established facts themselves knocks the bottom out of the whole romance, and the character of Jahangir and Mir Jahan appear in a true and more favourable light." His main line of argument may be briefly stated thus :

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 433-5.

2. *History and Literature*, p. 121.



(14) No contemporary dissident has made the charge against the Emperor.

(15) Even the dissidents of Şehzade Mehmed's reign, who had antipathies towards Nûr Jahan, do not go so far as to do it.

(16) Contemporary European writers, although they record many another Court scandal, hardly impute the crime to Jahangir.

(17) If Jahangir had been early in love with Mihranisa, Akbar would not have appointed Sher-Afgan in the service of Salim, and the latter would not, under such circumstances, have promoted his rival in love.

(18) Nûr Jahan, from her known character, would not have submitted to the yoke of her husband's mania; on the contrary there is reason to believe she sincerely reciprocated Jahangir's passionate love for her.\*

Dr. Howard Prasad's criticism of this is rather weak and unconvincing: "The improbability of the story itself, on which he (Dr. Prasad) dwells at length", he writes, "are of little value in helping us to form a correct judgment. The evidence of the emperor's innocence adduced by Dr. Beni Prasad is of a negative character, and we cannot lightly brush aside the positive assertions of later historians, who were in a better position to state the truth in a matter like this than their predecessors. There are other considerations which militate against the theory of innocence." These are according to him:—

(a) On more suspicion the Emperor need not have attached Şahin-dîn to punish Sher-Afgan: "the cause of the royal displeasure was not even communicated to him."

(b) Jahangir, "who is usually so frank," does not say a word on this incident, "for the obvious reason that no man would relate scandals about himself."

(c) Jahangir's silence about his marriage, "the most momentous event in his career, is wholly unintelligible."

(d) "His account of Sher-Afgan's death is entirely devoid of a mention of Nûr Jahan."

(e) Why were not Mihranisa and her daughter entrusted to the care of her father Şahin-dîn? Why were they kept at Çandar?

1. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 178-82.

(7) Finally, against the possible question why the impatient lover did not marry her all at once, but waited for four long years, he answers that, Jahangir did not or could not marry all at once, because of the widow's natural dislike on the one hand, and Jahangir's desire to stay suspicious, on the other.

But after all, he concludes with the observation, "A careful perusal of contemporary chronicles leaves upon our minds the impression that the circumstances of Sher Afgan's death are of a highly suspicious nature, although there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the emperor was guilty of the crime."<sup>1</sup>

The rise of Mir Jahan led to a reshuffling of the political equation within the Empire. His relations,

The Jans: particularly her father Mirza-i-daula, and her brother Asaf Khan, came into prominence as much by her influence as by their own undoubted personal abilities. The merits of the former have already been described. From 1611, the year of Mir Jahan's marriage, to 1618, he had steadily risen in power and position, until he ranked only next to Prince Khurram. From the rank of 3000+500 in 1611, he had risen to 7000+6000 in 1616, and 9000+7000 in 1618. Asaf Khan also steadily rose from 550+100 up to 5500, to 8000+5000 in 1616, and 6000+8000 in 1618. He was an accomplished man of letters, as well as a man of political and administrative craft. Dr. Beni Prasad says, "As a favourite, he stood unopposed in the Mughal empire."<sup>2</sup> The marriage of his daughter, Arjuman-Bano Begum, with Prince Khurram, in 1612, undoubtedly heightened his prestige as well as power. This Prince, both by circumstance and ability, was marked out to be the heir-apparent. His services to the Empire have already been described in detail, up to his death on the eve of the Kandahar campaign in 1627. Mirza, Akbaradras, Kāngra, proclaimed his glory to the four corners of the Empire. He had now been raised to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *dan* and 25,000 *san*ah, with the additional title of Shah Jahan, and the title of Husein Khan.

Speaking of the political importance of the marriage of the niece of Mir Jahan with Prince Khurram, Dr. Beni Prasad observes, "It consolidated the alliance of Mir Jahan, Mirza-i-daula and

1. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-411.

2. *History of Jahangir*, p. 167.

And Khin with the heir apparent. For the next ten years this clique of four supremely capable persons practically ruled the empire. What has been called Nür Jahân's sway is really the sway of these four personages.<sup>1</sup>

The period of Nür Jahân's influence is usually considered in two divisions: (1) 1611-22, when her parents were still alive and exercised a wholesome restraint upon her ambitions; and (2) 1622-27, when Jahângir himself was more or less an invalid, and full vent was given to party strife and faction. In the first period also, Khurram and Nür Jahân were in alliance; in the second, they were antagonistic to each other. The marriage of Shahryâr (born 1606) with Nür Jahân's daughter by Sher-Afraz, Ladli Begum, in 1626, introduced a fresh complication.

Under these circumstances, the division of the Court into parties was inevitable. At first, there were only two: the jurats and its opponents; later, when the jurats itself broke up, there were more. Makhân Khân throughout played an important rôle as an indistinguishable opponent of the party-men, as he considered Nür Jahân's relations, and those whom she had united. In other words, he stood forth as the champion of the ruler's nobility, and at one time went to the extent of advising the Emperor against the party in power. The author of the *Ishtihād-i Jahângir-Shahî* says,

'At this time the influence of Nür Jahân Begum had attained such a height that the entire management of the Empire was entrusted to her hands. Makhân Khân thought proper therefore to represent as follows: That to His Majesty and all the world it is well known that this servant Makhân Khân was brought up only by His Majesty, and that he has no concern with anybody else. Everyone knows that Makhân Khân possesses much upon His Majesty's kindness; and he now has only and left only to represent what he wishes people, disgusted by his loyalty, and for the sake of His Majesty's good name.... The whole world is surprised that such a wise and sensible Emperor as Jahângir should permit a woman to have so great an influence over him..... He also added, that in his opinion, it was now very advisable to dismiss Prince Khurram from prison, and deliver him to one of the confidential servants of the throne..... His Majesty should reflect that affairs had now assumed a new aspect, and the safety of His Majesty's person, and the tranquillity and peace of the country seem to depend upon the life of the Prince.'

It is clear from this passage that Makhân Khân also championed the cause of the popular and pathetic Prince Khurram, adding

1. *Ibid.*, p. 326.

another candidate to the party-struggle that was brewing at the Court. But his bold counsel appears to have been taken, all in good part by the Emperor, though its effect was ephemeral. The writer above cited closes with the observation, 'The Emperor acted in some measure upon the advice of Muhi-ud-din Khān, till he arrived in Kandahar; but the influence of Mīr Jāhān Begam had brought to much upon his mind, that if 200 men like Muhi-ud-din Khān had advised him simultaneously to the same effect, their words would have made no permanent impression upon him.'<sup>1</sup>

With such candour Muhi-ud-din Khān could not expect to get on well at Court in opposition to the junta. From 1602-10 he had risen from 1200 to 4000+3500 in his rank. Then came Mīr Jāhān. Till 1622 he received no promotion whatsoever. On the contrary he was driven from the Deccan to the frontiers of Afghanistan, whenever the most strenuous service was needed. For such a one to stand up for the unfortunate Prince Khūrō was to spoil his case. Though Jahāngīr for a time related towards his eldest born, and allowed him some liberty, the junta contrived to undo him. Shāh Jahān was then in the good books of Mīr Jāhān. Last the prospects of the younger (Shāh Jahān) should be suddenly marred by some untimely turn in the Emperor's affection, they contrived to transfer the prisoner, at first to Asaf Khān's custody, and thence to Shāh Jahān's. The latter, in utter disregard of all human feeling, got his eldest brother out of the way by methods in which Mughal princes were becoming more and more adept. Before he would proceed on service in the Deccan, in 1625, Shāh Jahān insisted on taking his ill-starred brother with him. In January 1625 Jahāngīr received a report from Shāh Jahān, writing from Burhānpur, that Khūrō had died of a colic!

Dr. Laist gives the following description of this strange 'colic':—

"*Shāh-Jahān* [Shāh Jahān], who was at Burhānpur [Burhānpur], and was acting as the father to his brother *Guznaw* [Khūrō], began to make a plot whereby he might be able to get rid of his brother without incurring the suspicion of having murdered him. He took into his confidence *Guznaw* [Khūrō Khān] and his most faithful *Guznaw*, and then departed on a hunting expedition. His slave *Begam*, who had been commissioned to commit the crime, landed at dead of night upon the door of prince *Guznaw's* bedroom, pretending that he and the companions whom he had brought with him were the owners of *ryeh* *shāh* letters

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 451-52.

from the King, and that they had instructions to set the prince at liberty. The prince did not believe this story. However, Raja Jaisin open the door, struck down the prince, who was unarmed, strangled him, placed his corpse back on his bed, and shut the door once more.....

"The Sultan returned to the city, and sent letters to his father announcing his brother's death..... On receiving the news the King mourned deeply for the death of his son.....He summoned the father-in-law of Gokarna, Ghazi Khan (Khan-i-Azam), resided with him, and committed to his charge his grandson Salim Salabat (Shahin), who was made a commander of 10,000 horse) in order that he may be responsible for his education."

Khan-i-Azam's body had been hastily buried at Burhanpur in May 1622. At Jahangir's desire it was disinterred and carried to Agra in June 1622, whence it was taken to Allahabad, there to be deposited by the side of his mother's tomb in Shahdihad (now known as Khirki Mugh). "His figure," observes T. A. Smith, "shadowy though it be, is one of the most interesting and pathetic in Indian history."

Meanwhile, Jahangir's health was failing. Repeated visits to Kashmir and other health-resorts, the treatment of distinguished physicians, and the affectionate and wholesome attention of Nur Jahan, did him little good. Though he continued to live till 1627, it was already certain that he had played out his part. Effective power must now pass on to other hands. More than anybody else, both Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan were keenly aware of the possible developments, and as David Fraud puts it, "In a single empire there was no room for two such masterful spirits as NUR JAHAN AND SHAH JAHAN—~~for therefore was there for a brief period~~ ~~therefore~~ ~~are ready in Shahjahan the Nishanah (good for nothing).~~ "The tender age (30), docile nature, feeble mind, and feeble character of Shahjahan marked him out as the proper instrument for a masterful lady."<sup>1</sup> His marriage with Nur Jahan's daughter (1608-9) has already been mentioned. At this time also Nur Jahan lost the wise direction and the restraining influence of both her parents who died one after another in 1621, and 1622. The time had evidently come for a re-shuffling in the political arena.

The spirited and ambitious Shah Jahan saw clearly that his chance lay in vigorous action. That is why, in 1621, he refused to

1. *England and Persia*, pp. 194-95. For a discussion on this incident see David Fraud, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-24.

2. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

3. David Fraud, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

be diverted into the futile Afghan campaign; that is why also he got rid of his possible rival Khwarizm in 1583; and finally, that was also the reason for his sudden rebellion in the Deccan. It was more than evident that Jahāngir had come to know of his perfidious conduct towards Kōtāl; it was more likely that Nūr Jahān would press for Shahulphir's candidature. On Shāh Jahān's refusal to go to the frontier (a reasonable occasion to confront the Emperor with him), she had put Shahulphir in confinement, and on his failure had she invited Sultan Parvāz (Jahāngir's second son) from Bihār, where he was governor. Civil war became thus inevitable.

### CIVIL WAR :

The details of this revolt are of little interest. But Jahāngir's

- (a) Shāh Jahān's lament over it is worth citation on account of its pathos :

Intelligence was received,\* he says, 'that Khwarizm had sided upon some of the sultans of Nūr Jahān Begum and Prince Shahulphir.... I have ~~been~~ affected by his delaying at the fort of Mīrskā, and by his improper and foolish statements in his letters, and I had perceived by his conduct that his mind was estranged. Upon hearing of this further intelligence, I saw that, notwithstanding all the favour and kindness I had shown him, his mind was perverted. I accordingly sent Mirāz Muzaffar, one of my oldest servants, to explain into the reasons of this coldness and presumption. I also sent him a letter, directing him to attend to his own affairs, and not to depart from the strict line of the duty. He was to be content with the wages that had been bestowed upon him from the Imperial Exchequer. I wanted him not to come to me, but to send all the troops which had been required from him for the campaign against Kandahār.<sup>1</sup> If he acted contrary to my commands, he would afterwards have to repent.... Letters arrived from Mirāz Khān and other of my officers whom I had left at Agra, stating that Khwarizm persisted in his perverse course, and preferring the way of disobedience to the path of duty, had taken a decided step on the road to perdition by moving upon Agra.... A letter from Asaf Khān also arrived, stating that this ungrateful son had torn away the veil of decency, and had broken into open rebellion; that he (Asaf Khān) had received no certain intelligence of his movements, so, not considering it expedient to move the treasure, he had not yet gone to join me.

\* On receiving this intelligence, I crossed the river at Sultānpur, and

1. Jahāngir was disappointed by the treachery of Shāh Abul, to which reference had been made. He left Mirāz Muzaffar to try conclusions with the insidious Shāh of Persia. But Shāh Jahān's meddling got in the way of all such measures.

ordered to inflict punishment on this ill-starred man (Syalbager). I issued an order that from this time forth he should be called "wretch" (de Anstet)....The pen cannot describe all that I have done for him, nor can I recount my own grief, or mention the anguish and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, which is so injurious to my health, especially during those journeys and wanderings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him who is no longer my son. Many natives, too, who have been long disciplined under me, and would now have been available against the Uzbeks and the Kaskhians have through this partying met with death and punishment. May God in His mercy enable me to bear up against all these calamities! What is most grievous for me to hear is this, that this is the very time when my sons and nobles should have engaged each other in recovering Kandahar and Khwarezm, the loss of which so deeply affects the honour of this Empire, and to effect which this "wretch" is the only obstacle, so that the invasion of Kandahar is indefinitely postponed. I trust in God that I may be shortly released of this anxiety!

On the 1st September, I received a letter from Ishak Khan, informing me that the rebel had advanced with all speed to the neighbourhood of Agra, my capital, in the hope of getting possession of it before it could be put in a state of preparation. On reaching Patlipur, he found that his hope was vain, so he retreated there. He was accompanied by Khidr-Khidwa (Iffrah) Abul Rahman Khan and his son; and by many other nobles who held office in the Chahis and in Gujarat, and had now entered the path of rebellion and perfidy.... The rebels took some fear of reproof from the house of Lashkar Khan, and everywhere they asked upon whatever they found verisimilitude in the possession of my officers. Khidr-Khidwa who had lost the greatest dignity of being my tutor, had now turned rebel, and in the fifth year of his age had blackened his face with jagatkhud. But he was by nature a rebel and traitor. His father (Hafiz Khan), at the close of his days, had acted in the same shameful way towards my revered father. He had but followed the course of his father, and disgraced himself in his old age.

"The wolf's pelt will grow a wall,  
Even though covered with man himself."

After I had passed through Ghid, troops came flocking from all directions, and by the time I reached Delhi, such an army had assembled, that the whole country was covered with men as far as the eye could reach. Upon being informed that the rebel had advanced from Patlipur, I marched to Delhi.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining events may be briefly narrated. The rebels were defeated at Baloghpur, in the south of Delhi (1858), and Shaj Khan at first joined into Mirza and thence into the Emperor. He sought vainly the help of Malik Ambar, and then fled to Bengal

1. *Wajiz-i-Jahangir*, E. & O., no. 22, VI, pp. 281-82.

via Telangana. He occupied Bidar and captured the great fortress of Polwar. But at Akhabad, heard the Imperial officers too alert (1624). Again he came back to the Deccan with better hopes of gaining support from Malik Ambar. He did form an alliance with him against Mahabat Khan who had sided with Bijapur as already stated. In 1625, however, he was seized with an illness. 'The error of his conduct,' as Muhammad Shah puts it, 'now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expending his sorrow and repentance, and begging pardon for all faults past and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hand, (March 1625) to the effect that if he would send his sons Durr Shikoh and Aurangzeb to Court, and would surrender Polwar and the fortress of Akr, which was held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Bidkhat should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this Shah Jahan deemed it his duty to conform to his father's wishes: so, notwithstanding the love he had for his sons, he sent them to his father, with offerings of jewels, chased silver, elephants, etc., to the value of 10 lakhs of rupees.' He wrote to Muhammad Khan directing him to surrender Polwar to the person appointed by the Emperor and then to come with Sultan Murad Baksh. He also wrote to Hadyt Khan directions for surrendering Akr to the Imperial officers. Shah Jahan then proceeded to Shahd.'

Thus ended the futile rebellion after three years of bloodshed and wastage in men and money, to nobody's advantage but the considerable distraction and weakening of the Empire. The victories of the Imperial forces, had been mainly due to the exertions of indefatigable Mahabat Khan, acting in union with Prince Parth. But his success was his undoing. Nur Jahan was watching with jealousy his increasing power and prestige. She could brook nobody's rise within the Empire. His association with Prince Parth was particularly dangerous in her eyes. She, therefore, set about humiliating Mahabat Khan, and in the result, again plunged the country in civil war.

Mahabat Khan and Prince Parth were together in the Deccan (b) <sup>another</sup> at Burhanpur. <sup>the</sup> <sup>Jahan's</sup> <sup>first</sup> <sup>step</sup> <sup>was</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>Khan's</sup> <sup>Camp.</sup> <sup>separating</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>two.</sup> So Mahabat was upbraided

1. Fathwa Muqatta' Jahangiri, E. & Co., op. cit., p. 286.



Governor of Bengal, and his place with Parvati was to be taken by Khidr Jahan. But the Emperor was unwilling to part with the general who had become the prop of all his hopes. Parvati was the eldest son of the Emperor, now alive, and since the discomfiture of Khidr Jahan he had built definite hopes of succeeding to his father. Meanwhile, the Empress Begum was equally determined to have her own way. So a peremptory *firman* came from the Imperial headquarters ordering Malibhat Khân either to proceed to Bengal or to come to the Court at once. He chose the latter course, but marched with 4,000 seasoned Rajputs. Meantime various malicious charges had been framed against Malibhat Khân, impeaching his personal integrity: "Malibhat Khân," it was said, "had run as yet sent to Court the elephants obtained in Bengal, and he had realized large sums of money due to the State, and also from *Afya*." What was more ridiculous, "Malibhat Khân had, without the royal permission, affianced his daughter to the son of Khwâja Umar Mahmûd-bekârî. The Emperor made a great noise about this. He sent for the young man, and having treated him with great insult and harshness, he gave orders for binding his hands to his neck, and for taking him bare-headed to prison. Fâzîl Khân was directed to seize what Malibhat Khân had given to the youth, and place it in the Imperial treasury."<sup>1</sup>

Malibhat Khân was not the man to put up with these calculated affronts. The Emperor at that time had just come from Kashmir, and was about to start for Kabul, with Nûr Jahan, Asaf Khân, and all his Court. The abiding place of the Emperor was on the bank of the river Behat, and Asaf Khân, notwithstanding the presence of such a brave and daring enemy, was so heedless of his master's safety, that he left him on that side of the river, while he passed over the bridge to the other side, with the children and women, and the attendants and the officers. He sent over also the baggage, the treasury, the arms, etc., even to the very domestic.

"Malibhat Khân perceived that his life and honour were at stake, and that he had no resource, for he had not a single friend left near the Emperor. With 4,000 or 5,000 Rajputs who had sworn *fidaiy* to him, he proceeded to the head of the bridge. There he left *anâsh* 2,000 *ghazis* to hold it, and to burn the bridge rather than allow

1. *Asfat-Nâmâ* Jahangîrî, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 419-20.

any one to pass over. Mahabat Khān, then proceeded to the royal quarters.<sup>1</sup>

Here, Miranul Khān, who was present in Jahāngīr's camp at the moment, gives further details of how Mahabat Khān proceeded to take possession of the Emperor: throughout he acted with great caution and strength, but never disrespectfully towards Jahāngīr. To proceed with Miranul's account:

"The servants who were in attendance on His Majesty informed him of this daring action. The Emperor then came out, and took his seat in a *palāsi* which was in waiting for him. Mahabat Khān advanced respectfully to the door of the *Palāsi*, and said, "I have assured myself that escape from the malice and implacable hatred of Anaf Khān is impossible, and that I shall be put to death in shame and ignominy. I have therefore boldly and presumptuously thrown myself upon Your Majesty's protection. If I deserve death or punishment, give the order that I may suffer it in your presence."

"The armed Rajputs now fled in, and surrounded the royal apartments. There was no one with His Majesty but Anaf Dastgah, . . . and a few other attendants. The violent entrance of the hellish dog [meaning Mahabat Khān] had alarmed and enraged His Majesty, so he twice placed his hand on his sword to chase the world from the filthy existence of that foul dog. But each time Miranul Dastgah said, "This is a time for forbearance, leave the punishment of this wicked hellish fellow to a just God: a day of retribution will come." His words seemed prudent, so His Majesty restrained himself. In a short time the Rajputs occupied the royal apartments within and without, so that no one but the servants could approach his Majesty."

Having thus seized the Emperor, Mahabat Khān realised that he ought not to allow his powerful enemies to escape. Mir Jāfā thought at first that Jahāngīr had gone a-hunting; but when she came to know of the real situation, she summoned the chief nobles, including her brother Anaf Khān, and addressed them in reproachful terms. "This," she said, "has all happened through your neglect and stupid arrangements. What never entered the imagination of any one has come to pass, and now you stand shivering with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil, and advise what course to pursue."

1. *Ayubshahi-Jahāngīr*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 418-22.

With one mind and one voice they all advised that on the morrow the forces should be drawn out, and that they should pike over the river with her to defeat the rebel and deliver His Majesty. The attempt proved unsuccessful in spite of the great heroism displayed by Nûr Juhân. Mûhammad graphically describes the scene: Horsemen and footmen, horses, camels, and carriages, were in the midst of the river, jostling each other, and pressing to the opposite shore . . . . . Seven or eight hundred Rajputs, with a number of war-elephants in their host, occupied the opposite shore in firm array. Some of our men, horse and foot, approached the bank, in a broken and disordered condition. The enemy pushed forward their elephants, and the horseman came from the rear, dashed into the water, and plied their swords. Our handful of men, being without leaders, turned and fled, and the swords of the enemy tinged the water with their blood. The Begum Nûr Juhân had in her litter the daughter of Shahrîyâr, whose wife (or name) was the daughter of Shâh Nawâz Khân. The wife received an arrow in her arm, and the Begum herself pulled it out, staining her garments with blood. The elephant on which the Begum was riding received two sword-cuts on the trunk; and when he turned round, he was wounded three times behind with spears. The Rajputs rushed after him with their drawn swords, and his drivers urged him on into the deep water. The horsemen then had to retire, and becoming afraid of being drowned, they turned back. The elephant seems to shore, and the Begum proceeded to the royal abode. . . . . Anâf Khân, who was the cause of this disaster, and whose folly and rashness had brought ruin to this pass, when he found that he could make no longer any resistance to Mûshih Khân, fled with his son Abû Talib and 300 or 500 horse, baggage, and women, to the fort of Atak, which was in his Raj, and closed the fortress. . . . . Mûshih Khân sent a large party of the royal *ashiks* (guards), with some of his own followers, and the amateurs of the neighbourhood, under the command of his son Bâhram and a Rajput, to invest Atak. They reduced the fort, and Anâf Khân bowed to Fate, and bound himself by promise and oath to uphold Mûshih.<sup>1</sup>

By this bold coup *de main*, Mûshih Khân had secured possession of all the important personages in the Empire and became the virtual *admiral*. But it is very strange that within a very short

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 423-24.

since the tables should have been turned against him. It was entirely due to the discernment and diplomacy of Nūr Jahan. Our historian says, 'Nūr Jahan Begum worked against him both in private and in public. She maintained a number of followers, and attacked them to harvest by money and promises. In time Hashim Khān, her enemy, in compliance with her letters, got together about 2,000 men in Lahore, and proceeded to meet her. A considerable number of men had also got together round the royal court.'

The exact details of the reversal are rather obscure. Our Chronicler only says, 'His Majesty determined to hold a review of the army. He gave orders that all the soldiers, old and new, should form in two lines, from the royal abode as far as they would extend. He then directed Buland Khān, one of his attendants, to go to Mahabat Khān, and tell him that His Majesty was holding a review of the Emperor's troops that day. It would be better therefore for him to postpone the usual parade of the first day, but words should pass between the two parties and strife cease. After Buland Khān, he sent Khwāja Abul Hasan to enforce his wish more strongly, and to urge Mahabat to go on a stage. The Khwāja, by elegant reasons, prevailed upon him; and, casting off all insolence and ingratitude towards power, he went on first. His Majesty followed close after, and making no stay at the first stage, he made two stages into one, and passed over the river to Rohtas, where he found a Court ready to receive him.<sup>1</sup> Mahabat Khān does not seem to have been so naive a fellow as to be taken in so easily. The fact appears to be that he had acted too deferentially towards his Imperial prisoners from the very start; this gave them the necessary opportunity to make the utmost of their royal prestige. Besides, Mahabat Khān, in the face of the jealousy he evoked in the hearts of the other nobles by his sudden and unexpected success, could not hope to hold on for long. If he had near him some prince of the Imperial family, he might have rallied round him forces that now he had no chance of invoking. His coup was the result of a sudden impulse that had occurred to him on the spur of the moment, carried out mainly as a measure of self-defence. He had neither the heart nor the resources to carry it through to its logical conclusion, viz., a revolution. He was not another Sher Khān driving out the Emperor into exile, and establishing his own dynasty? He was a

1. *Ibid.*, p. 420.

loyal servant trying to create an impression by means of a stratagem. So, when Majesty recovered itself he recoiled and mechanically carried out its behests.

These events happened in 1636. Meanwhile Shāh Jahān had proceeded to Thatta, to take in troubled waters, and falling ill, to go to Purān with a view to recovering his lost position with the assistance of Shāh Abidā. But owing to the difficulties he met with on the way, and his own illness, he determined to return to the Deccan. "Being weak and ill," writes Miranad, "he was obliged to travel in a palān. He now received intelligence of the death of Prince Purān (Oct. 23, 1636), and this hastened his movements. He pursued the route which Mahāzād of Ghazāl had taken when he plundered Saurāsh. Passing by Rājpiplāy, he arrived at Nāik Tibang (Trinank) in the Deccan, where he had left his stores and equipage. . . . At this time (shah) died, in the seventy-second year of his age, Khān-Khānān, son of Bāimū Khān, one of the greatest nobles of the late Emperor Akbar, who had rendered honorable service and gained important victories."

Mahāzād Khān had been ordered to release Asaf Khān and others, and to march against Shāh Jahān in Thatta. He chose instead to join forces with the disappointed Prince. Miranad says, "He concealed himself for some time in the hills of the King's country," and then sent persons to Shāh Jahān to express contrition. The Prince received his apologies kindly, called him to his presence, and treated him with great favour and kindness."

Alarmed at this dangerous combination, Mōr Jahān was pre-

paring to suppress them, when the illness and death of Jahāngīr, on Oct. 23, 1637, changed the whole aspect of affairs. The Emperor had been ill in Kashmir. "He was unable to ride on horseback, but was carried about in a palān. His sufferings were great . . . He lost all appetite for food, and rejected opium, which had been his companion for forty years. He took nothing but a few cups of the grape." He then started on his way back to Lahore. "On the way he called for a glass of wine

1. The death also is ascribed to Shāh Jahān's poisoning, on the strength of a base accusation by Aurangzeb; see *Asia Præterita*, op. cit. p. 438 n. 3.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 431-32.

3. *E. & B.*, op. cit., VI, p. 424.

but when it was placed to his lips, he was unable to swallow. Towards night he grew worse, and died early on the following day, the 26th Safar, 1037, A. H., in the 33rd year of his reign.<sup>1</sup>

### V. JAHLINGIR AND THE EUROPEANS

Before we can appreciate the results of Jahlingir's reign and his character, it is necessary to review briefly his relations with the Europeans who threw ample light upon both. It would be convenient to consider these under three separate heads: (a) the Portuguese; (b) the Junnis; and (c) the English.

The Portuguese power in India was definitely on the decline, due to a variety of reasons.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps two im-

(a) *The Portuguese.* Important causes of this were their religious intolerance and the absorption of Portugal by Spain, between 1580 and 1640. Other European powers like the Dutch and the English were fast out-stripping them in the East. Particularly, their physical activities<sup>3</sup> brought them into active conflict with the Mughal Empire.

In spite of Jahlingir's desire to maintain friendly relations with them, which made him send an embassy to Goa in 1597 and 1615 (under Father Pinares and Mufarrab Khān), their animosity became intolerable. In 1613 the Portuguese seized four Imperial vessels containing about three millions worth of goods, near Surat. Since their Viceroy was not amenable to reason, Mufarrab Khān, then Governor of Surat, inflicted a naval defeat on the Portuguese, in alliance with the English sea-captain Downton. This was followed by a very vigorous campaign against the Portuguese settled within the Empire, and the withdrawal of all privileges granted to them previously. The Portuguese, whenever they could be caught hold

1. *Ibid.*, p. 431.

2. See Ray, *India, The Decay of Portuguese Power in India*, (Bombay, 1928) pp. 34-43.

3. Prof. Barker gives the following description of the horrors perpetrated by the pirates (both native and foreign) from a contemporary Persian source:—They placed the hands of their victims, and 'passed this rope through the holes, and threw them one above another under the deck of their ships. In the same manner an apple is hung to a nail, every morning and evening they threw down from above uncooked rice to the captives as food. On their return to their houses they employed the low third-grade captives, that survived, in tillage and other tasks, according to their power, with great diligence and sweat. Others were sold to the Dutch, English, and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan.'—*Illustrations of Mughal India*, pp. 121-2.

of, was arrested, and even Father Jerome Xavier was placed under the custody of Mukarrab Khân. The churches at Agra and Lahore were forthly closed. This brought the Portuguese to their senses, and they soon opened negotiations with the Emperor. Father Xavier was released to discuss peace terms, but the Portuguese proposals were not wholly acceptable to Jahangir: prisoners were to be released, the Emperor was to be content with taking the Portuguese property already seized as indemnity, and the Dutch and English were to be excluded from all privileges.<sup>1</sup> However, thanks to the efforts of the Jesuits, harmony was restored between the Portuguese and the Empire in September, 1615.<sup>2</sup> In 1623, when Shah Jahan, in the course of his rebellion, sought their assistance from Nagli, they refused it, but, on the contrary, they served as gunners in the Imperial army under Shahjahan Khân.

Jahangir, as we have seen, had come very early into contact with the Jesuits during his father's lifetime. His

(1) The Jesuits. had formed a close friendship with Father Nicolo Aquaviva, head of the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court. During his revolt, as a Prince, when he set up his mock court at Allahabad, he had sought without success a mission from Goa. He had bestowed several favours and gifts, like a silver image of the infant Jesus, upon the Jesuits and their church. He had even worn round his neck a locket containing portraits of the Saviour and the Virgin, marked his letters with Christian symbols, contributed large sums for the erection of churches, and 'exhibited most edifying devotion' towards the Christian faith. The fathers of the Society of Jesus had an 'elegant and commodious' church at Lahore, as well as a collegium or 'private' residence, "a comfortable building equipped with verandahs and upper and lower rooms, suitable respectively for use in the cold and hot seasons. Each department of the mission work had its appropriate and convenient accommodation as in European colleges. At Agra about twenty baptisms took place in 1606, and when Jahangir was on his way to Kabul, he accepted a Persian version of the Gospels and permitted the Fathers to act publicly with as much liberty as if they were in Europe. When

1. A copy of this draft, with Fr. Xavier's signature, is said to be in the Goa archives.

2. For the text of treaty see Rev. Hems, *Jahangir and the Portuguese* (Report of the 9th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Lahore, 1920).

the Emperor returned to Agra he took two of the points with him, leaving one at Lahore to look after the congregation there. Church processions with full Catholic ceremonial were allowed to parade the streets and cash allowances were paid from the treasury for church organs and the support of the converts.<sup>1</sup>

The most remarkable indication of Jahāngīr's interest in the Jesuits was, perhaps, his permitting them to baptise his own nephews (sons of the late Prince Dāūdshāh). "The Princes clothed in Portuguese costume and wearing crowns of gold seated their nicks, proceeded on elephants from the palace to the church through streets packed with eager spectators. A large cortège from the Court accompanied them and some sixty Christians—including Poles, Venetians and Armenians—joined the procession on horseback. Even the Englishman, Hawkins, who was then in Agra, put aside his Protestant prejudices for the day and rode at the head of the procession with St. George's flag carried before him "to the honour of the English nation." At the church the Princes were received with every sign of rejoicing and the bell was rung with such violence that it broke. The ceremony itself was impressive and the behaviour of the Princes brought tears to the eyes of the spectators. When baptised, they were given, as was then the practice, new names of a European complexion."<sup>2</sup> King Philip III of Spain received their tidings with great enthusiasm, and personally addressed a letter to Jahāngīr thanking him for his friendliness towards the Christians. But after all this fuss, in five years' time the Princes "gave their crosses again to the Jesuits" i.e. abjured their Christian faith, and in the words of a Jesuit writer, "rejected the light and returned to the world."<sup>3</sup>

After the death of Father Xavier in 1607, and of Pinheiro in the following year, their places were taken by Fathers Coré and Joseph de Castro. In addition to their evangelised work they went in the position of an 'agent for the Portuguese.' The former has been described as "a great reformer of the Mission," and both had unique opportunities of coming into close contact with the Emperor. Coré first came to Agra in 1604, and de Castro ten years later. The former died at the capital in 1628; the latter at Lahore, in 1646.

1. Smith, *O. R.*, pp. 377-379; *Ashm.* pp. 280, 281-2. <sup>1610</sup> 10 a day were paid to Fr. Xavier and similar sums to others.

2. P. Macgregor, *The Jesuits and the Great Moghul*, pp. 73-4.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 74.



Although both of them were Italian, their political activities were directed towards furthering the interests of the Portuguese at Court as against those of the English. Sir Thomas Roe, who arrived in India in September 1615, in a letter written a year later, describes, "how the Portuguese have crept into this kingdom and by what means they got in : the entrance of the Jesuits, their establishment, privileges, practices, ends and the growth of their church, where of they sing in Europe so loud praises and glorious successes." In spite of his obvious Protestant bias and opposing political interests, mutual relations between Roe and Corré were, according to Sir Edward Maitland, good and amicable to both.<sup>1</sup>

The first Englishman to appear before Jahangir was Captain

(c) The English. William Hawkins, who arrived at Surat (in his ship *Moor*) in August, 1600, with a letter from

James I, King of Great Britain, asking for trade facilities.<sup>2</sup> He brought with him a gift of 25,000 gold pieces, and was well received by the Emperor (April 1602), in spite of the opposition of the Jesuit Father Picheiro who represented Portuguese interests at the Mughal Court. Hawkins could speak Turkish and Persian and hence needed no interpreter. The bitter hostility that existed between the English and the Portuguese, on account of their rivalry at Jahangir's Court, is clearly discernible in the statements of Hawkins. He alleges that Father Picheiro had bribed Makarrab Khan to kidnap him (Hawkins), and that he had described England as a dependency of Portugal. "The Jesuits here," he writes from Agra (1602), "do little regard their masses and their church matters for studying how to overthrow my affairs." Finally, he calls them "madde dogges, labouring to work my passage out of the world," and says that they had to be warned by the Emperor, that if aught happened to Hawkins, they would be held responsible. When a Protestant follower of Hawkins died at Agra, the Jesuits refused to allow him to be buried in the Christian cemetery. When Hawkins married an

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-5.

2. "It was a singular situation," observes Lane-Poole, for a King was certain to find himself, in an unknown land, called upon to meet a great superior potent whose absolutely nothing was known in England. There was nothing to suggest the most distant dream that in two centuries and a half the direct introduction Hawkins was thus effecting between England and India would culminate in the sovereignty of a British Queen over the whole empire where the "Light of the World" had her imperial kingdom then raised." *Medieval India*, pp. 224-225.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Armanian Christian lady, 'to avoid being poisoned,' they declined to perform the ceremony unless he acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Later, however, their relations slightly improved. But, soon the less, when Hawkins left India, in 1611, in disgust, his mission had been thoroughly discredited on account of the Jesuits, and Father Xavier represented that some dysmannered heretics had attempted to disturb the happy progress of the Catholic faith in Mogor, but that the King on discovering their perfidy had banished them from the country.<sup>2</sup>

The next Englishman of note to appear at the Court of Jahangir was one Paul Canning, who too appears to have come to Agra (1612) with a further letter from King James. His experience was no better than that of his predecessor. English accounts still speak of 'those prattling, juggling Jesuits' and their great influence at the Court. 'The lying Jesuits,' we are told, were 'feeding the king daily with presents and strange toys,' and poisoning his mind against the English. But the strained relations between the Empire and the Portuguese, to which reference has already been made, changed the whole situation for the time being (1613-15). The Jesuits with the Portuguese stood thoroughly discredited. It was at this time, when they were still 'in deep disgrace with the king and people,' that the third English 'ambassador,' William Edwards came from Sarat (1615) also with a letter from King James. But the most important and the most famous of the English representatives was Sir Thomas Roe. Smith describes him as 'a gentleman of good education, a polished courtier, and trained diplomatist, well qualified for the task assigned to him, which was the negotiation of a treaty giving security to English trade.'<sup>3</sup> He was accompanied (after

1. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

2. 'They had come to complete what Hawkins had only partly succeeded in effecting. The English agents and traders were still in a humiliating position, subject to all kinds of indignities, possessing no recognised or valid rights, and obliged to sue and strive for such slight facilities as they could win. Their ships, the agents of the East India Company, had brought were upon their nation by "Kocoring" the Mogul dignitaries ordering to insult, snuffing up their noses at dignity; and had even "suffered blows at the porters, have Peons, and beards thrust out by them with much scorn for insult and disdain without seeking redress." Englishmen were flogged, mistreated, arrested, even whipped in the streets. It was evident that a different manner of man (than Hawkins) was needed to retrieve the indignity done to our name and honour.'—*Speedwell*, op. cit., pp. 204-5. Sir Roe, according to the Director of the E. I. Co., was a man 'of a singular understanding, well spoken, learned, industrious and of a steady perseverance.'

1616), by his chaplain Terry, whose account 'is far superior to that of Roe, as a description of the country and Government'.<sup>1</sup> He too met with difficulties similar to those of his predecessor: 'when he had hopes of a speedy decision on his request, Roe found objections raised at the last moment, 'a political bone' as he said, 'cut in carriage'.<sup>2</sup> His own draft of the treaty he wanted to negotiate provided for the free access of the English to all ports belonging to the Great Moghul, including those of Bengal and Sind, and the free passage of their goods without payment of any duty beyond the usual customs: they were to be allowed to buy and sell freely, to rent factories, to hire boats and carts, and to buy provisions at the usual rates; while other articles directed against the confederates of the effects of deceased factors, the strictness clause to touch the persons of the merchants on going abroad, the opening of presents intended for the King, delays in the custom-house and other similar shenanigans. On the part of the English, Roe was willing to engage that they should not molest the ships of other nations, 'except the enemies of the said English, or any other that shall seek to injure them,' and that their factors while residing abroad, should 'behave themselves peaceably and civilly,' that they should do their best to procure markets for the Great Moghul, and should furnish him (upon payment) with any goods or furniture of war that he could reasonably desire, and that they should assist him against 'any enemy to the common peace.' The Portuguese were to be admitted to 'enter into the said peace and league,' should they be willing, but if they did not do so within six months, the English were to be permitted to treat them as enemies and make war upon them at sea, 'without any offence to the said Great King of India'.<sup>3</sup> Roe did not succeed in this, though he remained in India for over three years and went about with Jahangir in his southern tour (Mandil and Ahmednagar), and finally left India on February 17, 1619. He had arrived at Surat (Sourat Road) on September 23, 1615. Although his mission was a failure he has

1. Smith, *O. N.*, pp. 188-89.

2. *Manning*, op. cit., p. 80.

3. Foster (Horn), *op. cit.*, cited by Lord Parnet, op. cit., pp. 240-49.

4. Roe wrote: 'Neither will the omnipotent Moghul (Mogul) Empereur consent to Article or Article himself respectively to any Prince upon whom of Moghul, but only by way of favour admit our stay.' All that Jahangir could suggest him was 'you shall be sure of as much privilege as any stranger.' The ambassador says of the Moghul officials: 'their Justice is generally good to strangers; they are not, rigorous, except'

revealed with grace the manner of his reception as well as departure from the Great Mogul. "I had required, before my going," he writes, "leave to see the customs of my country, which were freely granted, so that I would perform them punctually. When I entered within the first rail, I made a reverence; entering in the inward rail, another; and when I came under the King, a third. The place is a great court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little gallery overhead; ambassadors, the great men and strangers of equality, within the innermost rail under him, raised from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silk, underfoot laid with gold carpets, the manner room representing gallery, within the first rail, the people without, in a base court, but so that all may see the King. This sitting out hath so much affinity with a theatre, the manner of the King in his gallery; the great men lifted on a stage, as actors, the vulgar going on, that an easy description will inform of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull interpreter, welcoming me to the brother of my master. I delivered His Majesty's letter translated; and after my consultation, whereon he looked curiously, after my presents which were well received. He asked some questions; and, with a seeming care of my health [Roe had just recovered from an illness], offered me his physicians, and advising me to keep me home till I had recovered strength, and if, in the interim, I needed anything, I should freely send him and obtain my desires. He dismissed me with more favour and courteous grace than by the Christians I were not flattered, than ever was shown to any ambassador either of the Turk or Persia or other whatsoever."

## VI. SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF JAIDANGIR

The character and achievements of Jaïdangir are more difficult to assess than those of any of his predecessors or successors. He

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in searching for things to please, and what trouble we have in his face of glass, and by our own disorders." He warned the Company: "A war and truce are inseparable. By my consent, you shall so very engage yourselves but at us, where you are like to grow as often as to lose. It is the beginning of the Portuguese, notwithstanding his many rich revenues and territories, that he keeps soldiers that speak it; yet his garbages are mean. He never profited by the Indians whom he defended them. Observe this well. It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who sold Persians here by the sword. They have a wonderful spirit, they grow in all places, they possess some of the best; yet that ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Persians despise all the gain. Let this be required as a rule that if you sell Persians, sell it at sea, and in open trade; for without controversy it is necessary to affect garbages and land wars in India."

was indeed, as Vincent Smith has characterized him, 'a strange combination of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness.' But, if a balance were to be struck, between the credit and debit side of his life, there is little doubt, his assets were far greater than his liabilities. To enter upon a detailed discussion of this subject would take us far beyond our limits: but the reader will not find it difficult to draw illustrative material from what has been said already and what follows. Jaffray's love of ease, his self-indulgence in drink and love, his caprice and cruelty, and his superstition and childishness are notorious: but his love of justice, religious toleration, energy when a situation demanded it, wisdom in the recognition of merit, whether in fine arts or in politics, are all worthy of due appreciation and praise. Whatever the fruits of his youth, which clung to him through later life, the period of his rule as Emperor was a continuous and honest striving to maintain and extend the principles and dominions of his great father: no ruler could do better, and Jaffray is to be understood in this light, if he is to be understood at all. The judgments of his contemporaries as well as modern critics will bear out what we have said:

"When he (Jaffray) ascended the throne in 1868, at the age of thirty-seven, his character, never wanting in certain inherent good-nature, had mellowed. He had become less savage and more sober: by day he was the person of temperance, at night he became exceeding 'glorious'... Jaffray carried his daylight sobriety so far as even to publish an edict against intemperance, and crusaded his for ever."

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1. "I myself have been accustomed to take wine," writes Jaffray, "and from my eighteenth year to the present, which at the thirty-eighth year of my age, have regularly partaken of it. In early days, when I traveled for drink, I sometimes took as many as twenty cups of deeply distilled liquor. In course of time it took great effect upon me, and I set about reducing the quantity. In the period of seven years I brought it down to five or six cups. My doses of drinking varied, sometimes I began when two or three hours of the day remained, sometimes I took it at night and a little in the day. So it was until my thirtieth year, when I resolved to drink only at night, and at present I drink it only to promote digestion of my food.—*Edinburgh, E. & F. Co. ed., VI, p. 286.* Sir Thomas Hope relates how he was asked by Jaffray to drink: "I drank a little, but it was more strong than ever I tasted, so that it made me greatly pleased to be invited, and led to various diseases, and about Russia, which were brought me on a chair of gold and beds on gold and drapery what I would, and so more.—*Lane-Poole, Contemporary Russia, p. 100.*

contemptible 'brother' James of Great Britain by writing a Persian counterblast against tobacco.<sup>1</sup> In spite of his vices, which his fine constitution supported with little apparent injury almost to his sixtieth year, he was no fool; he possessed a shrewd intelligence, and he showed his good sense in carrying on the government and principle of toleration inaugurated by Akbar. He was not deficient in energy when war was about; he was essentially just when his passions were not thwarted; and he cultivated religious toleration with the easy-going indifference which was the lay-note of his character. The son of an eclectic philosopher, and a Rajput prince, he professed himself a Muslim, retained the Mahomedan formulas of faith which Akbar had abandoned on the throne, and revised the Hijra chronology, whilst preserving for royal years and months the more convenient solar system. But he followed his father's policy towards the Hindus, and was equally tolerant towards Christians." (*Mughal India*, pp. 295-296).

"Jahangir's first measures were of a much more benevolent and tolerant character than might have been expected of him. He confirmed most of his father's old officers in their stations; and issued edicts, resuming some venial duties which had served Akbar's reform, forbidding the sales of merchants to be opened by persons in authority without their free consent, directing that no soldiers or servants of the State should quarter themselves on private houses, abolishing the punishments of cutting off ears and noses, and introducing other salutary regulations. Notwithstanding his own notorious habits, he strictly forbade the use of wine, and regulated that of opium; subjecting all offenders against his rules to severe punishment."

Regarding Nur Jahan's influence over Jahangir, he says, "Though her gross personal and consequent in the end, it was ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~whole~~ <sup>whole</sup>. Her father was a wise and upright minister; and it must have been, in part at least, owing to her influence that a great improvement took place in the conduct of Jahangir after the first few years of his reign. He was still capricious and tyrannical, but he was no longer guilty of such barbarous cruelties as before; and

1. "As the smoking of tobacco had taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practice the habit. My brother Mirza Aslam (King of Persia), also being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in India." Jahangir: *Wāqat*, B. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 324.

although he still carried his excess in wine to the lowest stage of inebriety, yet it was at night, and in his private apartments. In occupations which kept him all day before the eyes of his subjects, he seems to have supported his character with sufficient dignity, and without any breach of decorum. Mrs Jahán's capacity was not less remarkable than her grace and beauty; it was exerted in matters proper to her sex, as well as in state affairs. The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense was diminished by her good arrangement. She introduced improvements in the furniture of apartments; introduced French dresses, mere becoming this way in use before her time; and it is a question in India whether it is to her or her father that they owe the introduction of other of ours.<sup>1</sup> One of the accomplishments by which she distinguished Jahánghir is said to have been her facility in composing extempore verses.<sup>2</sup> (*History of India*, pp. 280-51, 283-95).

"Terry truly observes: "Now for the disposition of that King (Jahánghir), it never seemed unto me to be composed of extremes; for sometimes he was

Vincent Smith,

barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceeding fair and gentle.' He was capable of feeling the most poignant grief for the loss of a grandchild, and often showed pleasure in doing little acts of kindly charity. His writings are full of keen observations on natural objects. He went to Kashmir nearly every hot season, and recorded a capital description of the country, carefully drawing up a list of the Indian birds and beasts not to be found in the Happy Valley. He loved fine scenery, and would go into estates over a waterfall. He thought the world blossomed of the *dhák* or palm tree 'so beautiful that one cannot take one's eyes off it', and was in raptures over the wild flowers of Kashmir."

Then after commenting on Jahánghir's love of fine arts,<sup>3</sup> Smith

1. "As of men, the most excellent of perfumes, was discovered in my reign. The eunuch of Núr Jahán began conceived the idea of collecting for all which came to the surface when rose-water is heated, and this having been done, the oil was found to be a most powerful perfume.—Jahánghir in *Wakáfi*, II. & 13, pp. 48, 49, n. 388.

2. 'This day,' writes Jahánghir, 'Abul Hasan, a painter, who bore the title of *Shah-núsh* Káshán, drew a picture of my Court, and presented it to me. He had painted it some time before in the *Jahánghir-námá*. As it was well worthy of praise, I loaded him with great favours. He was an elegant painter, and had no match in his time. If the celebrated artists Abul, Hájí and Shiháb were now alive, they would do him full justice for his exquisite taste in painting. His brother Aká Hasan, was

quotes the Emperor's Ministry on his sense of justice,<sup>1</sup> and proceeds: "His religion is not easy to define. Great Sir Thomas Roe roundly denounced him as an atheist, but he was not exactly that. He sincerely believed in God, although he did not frankly accept any particular revelation or subscribe to any definite creed . . . . He had not the slightest desire to persecute anybody on account of his religion. It is true that he passed severe orders against the Jains of Gujarat, whom his father had so greatly admired, but that was because for some reasons or other he considered them to be wicked. . . . His personal religion seems to have been a vague belief, either taught by mystical Mohammedan Sôfis, or the very similar doctrine of certain Hindu sages."<sup>2</sup> . . . . The material for

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swaps with me while I was a Prince, and his son was born in my household. Moreover, my son is far superior to the latter. I gave him a good education, and took care to cultivate his mind from his youth till he became one of the most distinguished men of his age. The portraits painted by him were beautiful. Muzâr is also a master of the art of drawing, and he has the style of Nadir-i Âdil. In the time of my father and my own, there have been men to compare with these two artists. I am very fond of pictures, and have such discrimination in judging them, that I can tell the name of the artist (on seeing his work), whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits painted by several artists, I could point out the painter of each." *Muzâr*, II, & D, pp. 21, 71, pp. 229-30. The author also cites the following observation from Gerone's *History of the Afghan Dynasties*, p. 176:—"In this time there were found, in the Indies, native painters who copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals. He was partial to the sciences of Europe, and it was this which attracted him to the Empire."

Sir T. Roe also confesses, "Roe had presented Jahângîr a picture, which he said his own artists could exactly copy: 'At night he sent for me, being busy to triumph in his goodness, and showed me six pictures, five made by his men, all pasted on one table, so like that I was by candle-light, troubled to discern which was which; I looked beyond all expectations; yet showed my eyes and the difference which were in art apparent, but not to be judged by the common eye. But he that at first sight I knew it was, he was very merry and looked and cracked like a Northern man."—*Madame. Lady-People, Contemporary Sciences*, p. 92.

1. Referring to a capital offence passed on an influential murderer Jahangir observes: "God forbid that in such affairs I should murder Princes, and far less that I should condemn Ameer." Terry speaks of the "sweet and quick" justice which "keeps the people in such order that there are not many executions!" Harivind told me that by the time he personally saw the Emperor and complained to him about his ill-treatment at Surat, Jahangir had already got the official report and taken the last steps towards justice. If the local officials were guilty of justice, Harivind observes, "it is well if they swap with the lion of their kind."

2. *View on Jahangir's religious policy*—But for a few hours, Jahangir's religious policy was, in the main, a continuation of his father Akbar's, based on principles of wide tolerance. The successors were mostly due to religion and politics being inseparable in life. The prosecution of the Sikh Guru Arjan and of Mir Nûrâi the Durrânî leader at Ahmad-



discussant on Jellingh's interesting personality is so abundant that it would be easy to write at large on the subject." (*O. R.*, pp. 287-89).

about (who, at the time of Miksa's rebellion, declared that Jellingh's empire would come to an end in two years) are not indications of the general policy. The Saka as a community were not persecuted by Jellingh: the persecutions against the Saka were less widespread. Jellingh was that the Christians 'persecuted' on account of the holiness of the Portuguese, but no sooner than peace was restored, they were once more restored to the royal favour. Terry observes: 'All religions are tolerated and their priests held in high regard. Jellingh often learned from the Maghat himself the appellation of Father with other very graceful words, with place among the last nation.' Peter Della Vase (1822-24) says, that the Hindu and Muslim 'live all mixed together and peacefully, because the great Maghat . . . makes no difference in his distinctions between the one sort and the other, and both in his eyes and esteem, and even among men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration.'

Nevertheless, if Jellingh felt that the preaching of any religious teacher had harmful consequences on the Empire, he did not hesitate to interfere. Two instances, both Muslim, are on record: the Afghan Shakh, Ruffin Miki was imprisoned in Chander (1808) for his activities were 'disruptive and hostile' and he had gathered together a large following of Afghans near Lahore; in 1813, similarly, Shakh Ahmad, a celebrated Muslim divine of Sindh, who claimed to be the Mahdi, was imprisoned at Quatun, and placed in the custody of a Rajput. Shakh Ahmad had written a book called the *Mahdhar* which was judged to contain 'many unprofitable things, calculated to drag people into infidelity and impiety'. Two years later the Shakh recovered and was released; he was not only set free but also given a cross of honour and considerable sums of money more than once. (*Mem. Pressat*, p. 431).

Jellingh's interest in deserting slaves and debts was remarkable. In 1828-29 he wrote of Jadrop: 'On Saturday for the second time, my Saka for the company of Jadrop happened. After performing the ordinary devotions, . . . ran and enjoyed his society in the retirement of his cell. I heard many valuable words of religious duties and knowledge of divine things. Without exaggeration, he set forth clearly the doctrine of wholesome Siffen, and did so with delight in his society. He is sixty years of age. He was 12 when, forsaking all external attachments, he placed the foot of determination on the highway of asceticism, and for 18 years he had lived in the pursuit of nakedness. . . . God Almighty has granted him an unusual grace, a lofty understanding, an exalted nature, and keen intellectual powers, etc. . . . On Wednesday I again went and kept him yesterday. Undoubtedly passing from him weighed upon my mind which desired the truth. An Thomas Roe reminds another instance of a Saka's visit to Jellingh: 'The venerable mystic, clothed in rug, covered with hair, covered with ashes, his Majesty talked with her about an hour, with such familiarity and those of Siffen that it many needs excite a jealousy not easily found among kings. The Sagar says where his (Jellingh's) sat down at . . . and after many strong humiliations and chastity, rising, the old wretch not being able, he took him up in his arms, which no earthly body could have reached, embracing him; and then thus having his hand on his heart, calling him father, he left him and all of us and me, in admiration of such virtue in a Saka prince. What I mention with awe and sorrow that we, having the true way, should bring forth only one and a bastard stock paper; that either our Christian priests had this devotion or that this man were guided by a true light of the Gospel.'

"Jahāngir is one of the most interesting figures in Mughal history. The ordinary view that he was a

liberal, Franciscan pleasure-seeker and a culture tyrant does him less than justice. All accounts agree that he was intelligent, shrewd, and capable of understanding the most complex problems of the state without any difficulty.... There is much in his character that deserves to be condemned, but there is a great deal that entitles him to be placed among the most fascinating personalities of Indian History." (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 524-561).

"Justly to dismiss him (Jahāngir) as a hard-hearted, fickle-minded tyrant, wicked in wise and weak in

deceit, as more than one modern writer has done, is at once unscientific and unjust. His reign has been eclipsed by the transcendent glory of his father and the shining splendour of his son... His memory has suffered from the English habit of

1. Here is a delightful portrait of Jahāngir from the pen of Sir William:—"Now here I mean to speak a little of his manners and customs in the Court. First in the morning, about the break of day, he is at his toilet with his hair combed to the forehead. The manner of his praying, when he is in Agra, is in a private hall room, upon a specially set stool, having only a Persian lamp-lens under him. At the upper end of this room the pictures of our Lady and Christ are placed, seven in number; so he turns over his head and with 3333 words according to the number of beads, and thus his prayer is ended. After he hath done, he sheweth himself to the people, receiving their salutes or good-mornings, unto whom multitudes meet every morning for this purpose. This done, he sleeps two hours more, and then dines, and passeth his time with his women; and at noon he sheweth himself to the people again, sitting till three of the clock, viewing and seeing his pastimes and sports made by men and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of pastimes.

Then at three of the clock all the nobles in general, that be in Agra and are well, resort unto the Court, the King coming forth in open audience, sitting in his seat royal, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of nobles standing within the red veil, and the rest without..... The King heareth all causes in this place and receiveth some two hours every day.

Then he departeth towards his private place of prayer; his prayer being ended, four or five sorts of very well dressed and scented incense are brought him, of which as he pleaseth he smelleth a bit to stay his stomach, drinking once of his strong drink. Then he smelleth forth into a private room, where there are some but such as himself pleaseth (for two years I was one of his attendants there). In this place he smelleth often these cup-pails, which is the justice that the physicians offer him. This done he smelleth again, and then he smelleth, and being in the height of his drink, he smelleth him down to sleep, everyman departing to his own home. And after he hath slept two hours they wake him and bring his supper to him; at which he is not able to feed himself; but it is thrust into his mouth by others; and this he smelleth one of the clock; and then he sleepeth the rest of the night.—*DeBary, Lano-Pala, (Com-Jamshpur Series, pp. 86-87).*

posed in historical biography and travellers' tales. His career has been viewed and judged in isolated passages.

"From a review of his life as a whole, he comes out sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as police and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruelty. But as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and open hand. ....

"Sir Henry Elliot has drawn up a strong indictment of Jhalangi and argued in particular, that his celebrated reforms were neither original in conception nor effective in practice. The first charge may be admitted at once, but is it a charge at all? Originality in administrative organization is extremely rare. Neither Akbar nor Sher Shah had much of it. The test of a statesman consists not in originality but in selection and adaptation of ideas and practices. It is true, again, that the imperial ordinances were not uniformly carried out, but the responsibility rests with the inherent circumstances of the case. No Government in the middle ages, with a large area under its jurisdiction, could make its authority effectively felt on the borders. Until his health failed him, Jhalangi exerted himself manfully to shield his subjects from the oppression of his officers. ....

"Jhalangi's reign, on the whole, was fruitful of peace and prosperity to the Empire. Under its auspices industry and commerce progressed, architecture achieved notable triumphs; painting reached its high-water mark; literature flourished as it had never done before: Tulsidas composed the *Ramayana*, which forms at once the Homer and the Bible, the Shakespeare and the Milton of the teeming millions of Northern India. A host of remarkable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country continued to make the period the Augustan age of medieval Indian literature. The political side of Jhalangi's history is interesting enough but its other *face* its cultural development" (*History of Jhalangi*, pp. 420-26).

# GENEALOGY

JAHNKE (1800-87)



## AUTHORITIES

A. *Primary*.—1. *Primary*: (i) *Ṭarāḫ-i-Jahāngīr* or 'Memories of Jahāngīr,' already noticed, forms an important source of information for the period it covers. So too are the other histories of the reign of Jahāngīr referred to in the previous chapter.

(ii) *Maṭlaḥ-i-salwā* of Kānsalī, who entered the service of Shāh Jahān in the fifth year of his reign. Kānsalī was the first to receive orders from Shāh Jahān to write an account of his reign of which he has covered only the first ten years. It is also called *Tārīkh-i Shāh Jahān Dīkshī*, and forms the basis of most other later works.

(iii) *Shāh-nāma* of Abul Ḥamid Lahūrī, who died in 1604 a.h., deals in detail with the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign. Despite its laboured style, which is too ornate at places, it contains "a solid substratum of historical matter, from which the history of this reign has been drawn by later writers." One of its MS. copies now available is considered "a most excellent specimen of the Oriental art of calligraphy" and contains an autograph of the Emperor Shāh Jahān. Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 8-72.

(iv) *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Inayat Khān, who held responsible administrative posts under Shāh Jahān, and was on intimate terms of friendship with the Emperor, sums up the earlier histories and carries the story up to the end of 1637-8. The author says in his preface: "It seemed to the writer of these pages that, as he and his ancestors had been devoted servants of the Imperial dynasty, it would be well for him to write the history of the reign of Shāh Jahān in a simple and clear style, and to reproduce the contents of the three volumes of Shāh Abul Ḥamid in plain language and in a condensed form. Such a work (he thought) would not be superfluous, but rather a gain. Hence, he calls his work also *Mafāhish-nāma* or 'Abridgement.' Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 76-120.

(v) *Other Shāh Jahān-nāmas*. There are several other works of the same name, two of which might be very briefly alluded to:

(a) *Amal-i Shāh* of Muḥammad Shāh Kānsalī, one of the noted calligraphers of the period, deals with the whole life of Shāh Jahān—from his birth to his death in 1627. Besides writing at prison,

railes, and officers, the work also speaks of 'learned men, physicians, poets and fine writers who were contemporary with Shāh Jahān.' (v) *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Muhammad Shāh Khān, somewhat similar to the above, is particularly of value as it formed the basis of Khān Khānā's history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. Extracts and notices in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 123-44.

For the Persian sources see Dr. Bazarī Farīd Shīrāzī's *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, pp. 1-22.

II. *European* (i) Sir Thomas Roe's *Embassy*, noticed in the previous chapter, throws some light on Shāh Jahān's early career as Prince. (ii) François Pellier's *Reminiscences* is the account of a Dutch factor who was in India for sixteen years (1625-57). He believes in Shāh Jahān's guilt in the murder of Khān Khānā, denounces Shāh Jahān's dominions, and makes interesting observations on prohibition of cow-slaughter for which, among other reasons, he gives the economic one, viz., that cows do everything that is done by horses in Holland.—Moreland and Geyl. Cambridge 1935. (iii) De Laet's *Description of India and Fragment of Indian History*, slightly revised. (iv) Pietro Della Valle (1603-57), an Italian traveller, in particular, was impressed by the religious toleration within the Empire. His descriptions of the places he visited (Western India) are graphic and valuable.—Pub. Hakluyt Society. (v) Mandelslo the German traveller was in India for a very short time (1682-29). His account, first published in 1688, contains much fiction mixed with some facts relating both to Mughal administration and history.—Harris's *Thesaur*, Vol. II. (vi) Peter Mandel, who came to India in 1628 and left eight years later, gives a most interesting and valuable record.—Ed. Temple. Pub. Hakluyt Society 1954-15. (vii) The Portuguese Fr. Sebastian Manrique travelled through N. India in 1640-41 and published his *Itinerario* in 1642 at Rome. He seems to have been well impressed with the prosperity of the country and people, and also speaks well of the orderliness of the Mughal camp. He attributes the planning of the TG to Ottobello Verodini.—Pub. Hakluyt Society. (viii) The two French travellers Bernier and Tavernier are the most famous of European visitors of the period. The former, a well educated and experienced traveller, came to India in 1668 and stayed for twelve years. His work was first published in 1676. He was witness to many of the events he described or had means of reliable information. Yet, as Mandel points out, he is not to be accepted without careful scrutiny

and religion. The other, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, rightly regarded as the 'Prince of Travellers', had also travelled widely in Europe before he came to India in 1665. His observations of social and economic conditions are valuable, but not equally so regarding political events. Elphinstone himself observes 'where business relate to him there is nothing to be hoped for by these Princes' (Barrow, in Constable, ed. Smith, Oxford U. Press, 1914; Tavernier, in Hall, *Introduction*, 1889).

One last, but not least,孟德斯鳩 (Montesquieu), the Italian adventurer, already noticed, is an important source of information for the period. He was a loyal partisan of Durrani and hated Aurangzeb for his treacherous conduct. After many vicissitudes he again entered service under Prince Shih Alam in 1698 and saw much of the politics and social life of India. But like most other European writers he is not to be depended upon where he speaks, not from personal knowledge or experience, but mainly from hearsay and base gossip. He died in India in 1715. His *Storia de Mogor* translated by William Irvine in four bulky volumes is rather too diffuse, and an abridged edition of the same in one volume, containing his experiences relevant to our purposes, has been published by his daughter Margaret L. Irvine, under the title—*A Pageant of Mogul India* (John Murray, London, 1913). *Père Charron's Histoire Generale de l'Empire de Mogor* (1706) was founded on Montesquieu's narrative.

B. SECONDARY.—1. *History of Shahjahan of Delhi* by Dr. Bhanu Prasad Sahasra is a most welcome addition to the critical monographs that have recently appeared on the lives of the Mogul Emperors. Sir Wolsey Haig, in his foreword to the book, writes: "Sahasra treats his subject with painstaking impartiality. Shahjahan, in his hands, is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of moral depravity described by some European travellers who have flavoured their pages with the scandalous gossip of the perfumes of the court."—*The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1932*. Pp. 1-xxx contain a critical discussion of the sources, Persian and European. There is also a classified bibliography at the end of the book, pp. 343-49.

2. *The Jewels and the Great Mogul* by Sir Edward Maclagan, Ch. VI, pp. 99-120.

3. *History of India* by Mountstuart Elphinstone, pp. 524-603.
4. *Studies in Medieval India* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar for 'The Daily Life of Shāh Jahan'; 'Wealth of India, 1650'; 'Who Built the Taj?' pp. 1-32. (1919).
5. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vols. I & II, by the same—M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1922.
6. *History of the Reign of Shāh Jahan* by Mr. Abul Asis, Basu-at-Law, appearing in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras.
7. *Shāh Jahan*, by Jast, L. S. (London 1924), though it deliberately tampers with history, is an interesting contribution.
8. "The Architecture of the Taj and its Architect,"—B. C. Mukherjee (I. H. Q. IX, 4 1924).
9. "Rebellion of Shāh Jahan and his career in Bengal,"—S. N. Bhattacharya (I. H. Q. XI).
10. "Prince Shāh Jahan in Bengal,"—Sri Ram Sharma (J. I. H., Dec. 1924 & I. H. Q. Mar. XII).
11. "Shāh Jahan's Embassy to China,"—C. S. K. Rao Sahab (Journal of the Asiatic Hist. Society, Oct. 1924).
12. "Religious Policy of Shāh Jahan,"—Sri Ram Sharma (I. H. Q. Mar. 1925).
13. Read K. K. Qasimji's Review of Salomon's *Shāh Jahan* in M. R. June 1924. (Corrections & supplements) pp. 692-3.
14. "Life and Art in the Moghal Period: the moral background of Moghal painting and its reflection in Art"—Hermann Goetz, S. U. I. V 4, 1926. Also, "Indo-Moghal Architecture in its Islamic setting", by the same writer, Ibid. VIII, 4, Jan. 1940.
15. "Tadris-ul-Islami"—a rare Ms. d. 950 a.m. = 1543 a.m. of the poet Amir Shāh with autographs of Jahāngir and Shāh Jahan.—S. A. Shriv in J. U. O. R. S., XXX, 1 (Mar. 1944).
16. "Rebellion of Shāh Jahan and his career in Bengal," Sadashira Nath Bhattacharya, I. H. Q., X, 4, Dec. 1924.
17. "Indo-Moghal Architecture," M. A. Chughatai, A. B. O. R. I., XXII, 1-2, 1941.



## CHAPTER VIII

### GOLDEN AGE OF THE EMPIRE

"Shāh-Jahān..... is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish in his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of moral depravity described by some European travellers."—Sir WALTER HART.

"The expenditure of his reign was not a tenth of the cost of this reign, and yet the King quickly amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessors."—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

The thirty years of Shāh Jahān's rule found the Empire at its zenith, its point of prosperity though not in extent. On the whole, they were years of peace and plenty, with few internal disturbances of any formidable character; the only wars, whether successful or otherwise, were those of aggression, and intended to extend the boundaries of the Empire. Until the Empire was convulsed by the War of Succession, following on the illness of Shāh Jahān, it had held forth the promise of a most glorious epoch in the history of India. But events soon showed that there were worms inlaid in the gilded work, and all that glittered was not gold. The failure of Imperial arms on the north-west frontier, the destruction of temples by Shāh Jahān, and the internecine feuds that were brewing—all indicated an unhappy augury for the future of the Empire. The reign of Shāh Jahān which had commenced with crime was not destined to end without it. Though Shāh Jahān was of a more staid character than his father, his rule was not without contrasts: it was an epoch of grandeur not altogether unmarked with symptoms of decay. It was both glorious and portentous at one and the same time.

The principal phases may be classified under the following heads: I. Early Life and Accession; II. Rebellions and Minor Conquests; III. Kandahar and Badakshan; IV. The Decree; V. War of Succession; and VI. The Golden Age.

#### I. EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION

The early career of Shāh Jahān has been too clearly delineated in the last chapter to need repetition; yet a few important details may be enumerated here. He was born on  
40 Early Life. Thursday, January 5, 1600 at Lahore. His

mother was the Rajput Princess (daughter of Raja Udal Singh of Marwar), variously called Jagat Gosain, Jodhdi, and Marnani. Salim had married in 1565. He had been christened Khurram or "the Joyous" and brought up under the care of Akbar's childless wife Ruqaiyah Begum. Although he had no dearth of literary teachers, the young Prince, from the very beginning, showed a decided turn for more practical pursuits. In spite of his sharp wit and strong memory he was more at home with the bow and arrow, swordsmanship and riding, than with Persian and Turki. About his sixth year he suffered from small-pox, the recovery from which delighted Akbar so much that the occasion was celebrated with abstinence and the setting free of some prisoners. In 1586 Prince Khurram was first entrusted with responsibilities of a public character, when he was left in nominal charge of the capital (with of course a Council of Regents) during Jodhdi's absence in pursuit of the rebellious Prince Kishan. In 1597 he received the rank of 8,000 Zai and 5,000 Saahi, with a flag and drums: the same year he was betrothed to Aghaquad Bamu Begum, the daughter of Asaf Khan, more famous as Mumtaz-i-Mahal, the Lady of the Tomb. This was followed by his nomination to the Sarkar of Hissar Feroze which was the virtual declaration of his accession to the throne. Two years later, he was again betrothed; this time a daughter of Mirza Mansur Husain Salari (of the house of Shah Ismail of Persia). This marriage strangely enough took place in 1610, whereas that with the former lady was celebrated only two years later, in 1612. In addition to these, Khurram married a third wife, daughter of Shah Nurata Khan (governor of Baluchistan), in 1617.

His children of any note were all by his second and most celebrated wife, Mumtaz Begum; they were fourteen in all, out of whom only seven survived: (1) Jahangir Begum was born at Agra, in 1594; (2) Dilruba Shikoh, in the same city, in 1615; (3) Shah Shikoh, also at Agra, in 1616; (4) Roshanara Begum, at Burhanpur, in 1617; (5) Arjumand, at Dehli on Oct. 24, 1618; (6) Mansur Salari at Rojha, in 1624; and Gauharara Begum at Burhanpur in 1625.

"The history of Jahangir's reign," writes Dr. Saksena, "is really a record of the brilliant victories won by Prince Khurram. . . . His charming person, his great taste of poetry, his devotion to duty, and his delicate courage, all combined to secure for him a successful

(1) *Princed*  
*Gosain*.

corner. Courage gave him a superiority over his brothers and rivals whose failures made their own added to his glory. He had never to wait for an opportunity: it came to him automatically.<sup>1</sup>

Khurram's first great triumph was against Mewar in 1614. It was an illustration of his pluck and tactics, he

(a) Mewar.

had eminently succeeded where other veterans had failed. It is strange that Vincent Smith should describe him as wanting in skill as a military leader.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Satoh is truer in his observation that the subjugation of Mewar enhanced the glory of the Mughal Empire, and that, by this victory, Khurram's 'reputation as a general of consummate skill and ability was established beyond doubt; and he was marked out as the rising star.'<sup>3</sup>

The second great chance of his life came to Khurram when he was appointed to the southern command (1608-

(b) Deccan.

17), in succession to his elder brother Faruk and other reputed generals. Already raised to the dignity of 20,000 *Zat* and 10,000 *Sawar* Khurram was now given the title of *Sahib*, never before bestowed on any Mughal Prince, and placed in full charge of the Deccan. 'Mewar revealed him as a skilful general, and the Deccan as a clever statesman.'<sup>4</sup> He was further exalted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *Zat* and 20,000 *Sawar* and given the title of *Sahib Jahân*. Then followed gifts and offerings 'such as had never come in any reign or time' (amounting in all to Rs. 2,280,000). Finally, *Sahib Jahân* was given charge of the province of Gujarat (1618), in recognition of his meritorious services.

To crown all, the operations carried on unsuccessfully against Kanpur, since 1618, gave *Sahib Jahân* his third

(c) Kanpur.

opportunity. He won his laurels again at this point towards the close of 1628.

The first triumph of *Sahib Jahân* in the Deccan was really a

(d) Deccan

again.

piece of good luck for him, but it secured permanent peace for the Empire. The corruption and quarrels of the Mughal officers, on the one hand, and the courage and cleverness of Malik Ambar, on the other, had resulted by reversing the tables against the Empire, since the withdrawal of *Sahib Jahân* in 1617. He was, therefore, again called to the forefront

1. General Vincent Smith, *History of Shahjahan's Reign*, p. 16.

2. *Smith, op. cit.*, p. 416.

3. *Satoh, loc. cit.*, p. 17.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

in 1621, and once more his tact and courage triumphed. But, as we have observed in the previous chapter, his success was his undoing.

Suspicion of Mir Juhās's jealousy drove him to insurrection.

(17) *Rebellion.* When he was called to lead the campaign against Kandahar, he thought it more prudent to rebel. The circumstances and course of his insurrection have already been described. 'His rebellion,' as Dr. Salems has well expressed, 'was a clash of two powerful ambitions each trying to subdue the other.' It was also a great blunder, because by his rashness he played into the hands of his enemies. His grave misdeed, though he tried to 'clothe his intended act in the garment of apology' cast him the unique position to which he had climbed up in the Empire. But though baffled, his usual good luck once more came to his rescue. The death of Jahāngir at Rajaul on Sunday, October 28, 1627, was a boon to Shāh Juhās. Although he was far away in the Deccan at that time, he briskly made his way to the throne.

There was a quick shuffling of the cards at the Imperial head-

quarters. In the words of the *Shāhshahānā* (12) *Accusation.* (of Abūl Hasanī Lahūrī): 'Mir Mīhāl, who

had been the cause of much strife and contention, now clung to the main idea of retaining the reins of government in her grasp, as she had held them during the reign of the late Emperor. She wrote to Nāshādīn (Shahbīrī), advising him to collect as many men as he could, and hasten to her.' On the other hand, Mir Juhās's brother Asaf Khān was equally alert. He 'determined that, as Shāh Juhās (his son-in-law) was far away from Agra, it was necessary to take some steps to prevent disturbances in the city, and to take possession of the prisoners (sons of Shāh Juhās) Muhammad Durrān Shāh, M. Shāh Shīja, and M. Asrangshāh, who were in the female apartments with Mir Mīhāl. They, therefore, resolved that for some few days they would take to the throne Bahāī (Durrān Bahāsh) the son of Khānīrī, who, by Mir Mīhāl's contrivance, had been placed with Nāshādīn.'

Muhammad Khān narrates the story in some detail: 'Mir Juhās began with several persons to bring her brother (Asaf Khān) to her; but he made excuses, and did not go. Asaf Khān now went himself, a well-known, to Shāh Juhās, with intelligence of the death of Jahāngir:

1. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

2. *Shāhshahānā*, R. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 6-7.

and as there was no time for writing, he put his signet ring as a guarantee. Next day the royal edicts came down from the mountains to Minbar. There the funeral ceremonies were performed, and the corpse was sent on under escort to Lahore, where it was interred in a garden which Mir Jafar had made.

"When the nobles and officers of the State became aware that Anul Khán had resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dáwar Bahádu, in order to secure the approval of Sháh Jafar, and that Dáwar was, in fact, a mere sacrificial lamb, they gave their support to Anul Khán, and did whatever he said. By the Khutba was read in Dáwar Bahádu's name near Bishnóor."

Shahryár, in the meantime, had assumed the royal title at Lahore. "He seized upon the royal treasure and everything belonging to the State which was in Lahore. To secure troops and supporters, he gave to everyone what he asked for, and in the course of one week he distributed 70 lakhs of rupees among the old and new nobles, in the hope of securing his position." A clash was, therefore, inevitable. The rival forces met them far away from Lahore, and "at the first attack Shahryár's mercenaries, unable to dare the old and loyal servants of the State, broke and fled, ... unable to understand his position and danger, Shahryár fell back and entered the fortress, thus placing his own foot in the trap. Next day the nobles arrived, ..... Shahryár fled for refuge into the female apartments of the late Emperor. A coach brought him out, and he was led bound to the presence of Dáwar Bahádu. After making the regular bows and prostrations, he was placed in confinement, and two or three days afterwards he was blinded." Tabákurra and Hoshang, sons of Prince Dáwud, were also taken and confined. Anul Khán wrote to Sháh Jafar, informing him of the victory, .....

"Sháh Jafar sent a female to Yálmud-d-daula Anul Khán, to the effect that it would be well if Dáwar Bahádu the son, and Múhammad the nephew brother of Múhammad, and the sons of Prince Dáwud, were all sent out of the world, ....." On the 2nd Jamádí second, 1037 A.H., by general consent Sháh Jafar was proclaimed at Lahore and the Khutba was read in his name. Dáwar Bahádu, whom the supporters of Sháh Jafar had deemed it advisable to set up in order to prevent disturbances, was now sent into prison. On the 26th Jamádí second, Dáwar, his brother Gamsar, Shahryár, and Tabákurra and Hoshang, sons of the deceased Prince Dáwud, were all put to death.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Jafar-námah-i Jahangir*, K. & D., pp. ch. pp. 435-38. Dáwar (Bahádu), according to some, engaged and lived for some years longer.—*Solovjev*, op. cit. pp. 82-88.

The richest philosophy underlying these wholesale political murders is very frankly stated by M.A. Sháh Kamboh, the historian of Sháh Jafar's reign: "It is infinitely awful," he writes, "for the great principle to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relatives, whose very annihilation is conducive to common good. And as the leaders, spiritual and temporal, justify this total eradication of the rival dynasty in the fortunate chance (chance) as grounds of expediency and common good, and upon the suggestion of such wise counsellors Sháh Jafar, whom the Emperor Jahangir had, in an hour of drunkenness,



The Portuguese also entered both border in the distant provinces and were ruthlessly suppressed. There as well as other disturbances and conquests will be noticed in due course.

The account of this rebellion by Abdul Hamid Lahori, in his *Imshād-nāma*, is interesting.

(1). The Ban-dah Revolt.

'Jahar Singh was son of Bhat Nar Singh Das Boudha, who rose into notice by killing Shalib And Paul..... After the accession of Jahangir to the throne, Nar Singh Das fell into favour and distinction through this wicked deed. But his evil nature was unable to bear his prosperity, and towards the end of the reign of Jahangir he became dissatisfied and appointed all the nobles in his neighbourhood..... He died about ten months before Jahangir and was succeeded by his son Jahar Singh. The wealth and property which Nar Singh had acquired without effort and without trouble terrified the mind of his worthless nephew Jahar, and at the direction of Bhat Jahan.... he left the capital Agra, and proceeded to Uchcha (Uchch), his stronghold, where he set about raising troops, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the roads.

'A force was accordingly sent against him under the command of Mahabat Khan Khan-Khanan. [The Imperial leader] converged upon Uchcha and [Jahar Singh, having no hope of escape, retired upon Khan-Khanan and made his submission.....

'His Majesty in the second year of his reign pardoned the misdeeds of this turbulent man, and sent him on service to the Dakhn. After a while he took leave of Mahabat Khan Khan-Khanan, the ruler of the Dakhn, and retired to his own country, leaving behind him his son Shamsa, styled (Jah-dj), and his courtiers of men.

'On reaching home he obtained Bhat Miran, commander of Gadh, and induced him by a treaty and promise to surrender the fort of Chaudghat (70 miles west of Jodhpur—*Atlas d'Asie*, I, p. 387). Afterwards, in violation of his engagement, he put Bhat Miran and a number of his followers to death, and took possession of the fort, with all the money and valuables it contained.

'Bhat Miran's son accompanied Khan Jahan to Court from Miran, taking with him an offering, and he made known to the Emperor what had happened. A firman was then sent to Jahar Singh, charging him with having killed Bhat Miran, and taking possession of Gadh, without the authority of the Emperor, and directing him to surrender the territory to the officers of the Crown, or else give up the place he held in his own country, and to send to Court ten feet of silver to make out of the money which had belonged to Bhat Miran.

1. One detachment of the Imperial army marched back the rebel *Shah Mahabat Khan*, another came from *Aggra* under *Pir Jang*, and a third proceeded from the south under *Khan Jahan*. The total strength of these forces was 27,000 horse, 5,800 foot, 1,500 musketeers.

'He got notice of this female from his castle before it arrived, and being resolved to assist, he directed his son Miranji to escape with his troops from the slaughter, whether he had gone with Khatu Jahan, and to make the best of his way home. The son acted accordingly.'

The military operations need not be followed in detail. Prince *Miranji* was in nominal command of 20,000 troops destined to reduce the rebels. Raja Devi Singh, one of the rivals of Jafar, was with the Imperial army.

'Notwithstanding the density and strength of his forts, Jafar was alarmed at the advance of the Imperial host, and removed his family, his cattle and money, from Uchda to the fort of Dhamoni, which his father had built. On the east, north and south of this fort there are deep ravines, which prevent the digging of mines or the mounting of ladders. On the west side a deep ditch had been dug twenty Imperial yards wide, stretching from ravine to ravine....' When the army in pursuit approached Dhamoni, Jafar fled to Chaudghar. 'Before leaving he blew up the buildings round the fort of Dhamoni, and left one of his officers and a body of faithful adherents to garrison the fort.' He did the same at Chaudghar, 'and then went off with his family and such goods as he would carry to the Dakhin.....When pressed hard by the pursuers, Jafar and Miranji got to death several women whose houses were worn out, and then turned upon their pursuers..... Although they fought desperately, they were beaten and fled into the woods....The hot pursuit allowed the rebels no time to perform the *rit* of *Jucker*, which is one of the heaviest practices of Hindusthan. In their despair they inflicted two wounds with a dagger on Rial Miran, the chief wife of Raja Nar Singh Des, and having stabbed the other women and children with swords and daggers, they were about to make off, when the pursuers came up and put many of them to the sword..... Daulatulla, son of Jafar, and Daulat Ali, son of Miranji, were made prisoners..... The royal army then encamped on the edge of the creek..... While they rested there, information was brought that Jafar and Miranji..... after escaping from the bloody conflict, had fled to hide themselves in the hills, where they were killed with great cruelty by the Goonds who

1. Later, the same chronicler (Lahori) states, "By the Emperor's order they were made *Mushammans* by the names of Jahan Khat and Ali Khat, and they were both placed in the charge of Mirza Khatu Mansur. Mirza Miranji, being severely wounded, was passed over; the other women were sent to attend upon the ladies of the Imperial palace....."

'Udaltulla, the son of Jafar, and his younger brother, Syam Dams, who had fled to Golkonda, were made prisoners by Khotul Malik, and were sent in custody to the Emperor. They arrived on the 7th Shawwal. The young boy was ordered to be made a *Mushammam*, and to be placed in the charge of Mirza Khatu Mansur, along with the son of Miranji. Udaltulla and Syam Dams, who were at full age, were offered the alternative of *litham* or death. They chose the latter, and were sent to jail.'



tributed that country:..... Khidr Khān sent gifts to seek their pardon, and having found them, cut off their hands and sent them to Court.... When they arrived, the Emperor ordered them to be hung up over the gate of Salur.

"On arriving at Chanda, the Imperial commanders resolved to take tribute from Khir, chief *sardar* of Gondwana,...and he consented to pay five *lacs* of *rupes* as tribute to the government, and one *lac* of *rupes* in cash and goods to the Imperial commanders....On the 12th *Jumada* saw the Emperor proceeded on his journey to Uodda, and on the 21st intelligence arrived of the capture of the fort of Jilala, one of the strongest in the Bundela country.<sup>1</sup>

But the irreducible Bundelas were not subdued. Another leader arose in Champat Rai of Mahoba. In 1639 his depredations and incursions into Maghal territory made the road to the Deccan very insecure. Abulallah Khān was directed by Shāh Jahan to round up the rebels. But Champat Rai played the Rabinhood. He had the fullest support of his people. In 1641, through the agency of Pabai Singh, a son of Dīr Singh Dew, he was temporarily brought under the Imperial yoke. But his more famous son, Raja Chhatrasai, again challenged the Imperial authority under Aurangzeb.

Another exactly similar rebellion took place in Mīr Nāgar in 1638. Its *sardar*, Jagat Singh, was a loyal servant of the Empire, but his son Bāhrup proved recalcitrant. Jagat Singh's secret sympathy with his rebellious son involved him in a war with the Imperial authorities. However, unlike the Bundela revolt, this insurrection ended in reconciliation. After nearly three years' hostilities, Jagat Singh submitted in March 1642, and ended his life as a loyal servant of the Crown.

Dr. Sakuma, after pointing out the close parallelism between the two rebellions, observes: "The only difference is that in one case the entire line of the rebels was annihilated, in the other they were cherished and pardoned. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the case of the Bundelas, their wealth excited the cupidity of the Maghal Emperor, and this it was impossible to obtain without criticising their existence; while in the case of Jagat Singh there was no such temptation, and since the latter agreed to the demolition of his forts, Shāh Jahan did not consider it necessary to go any further, since the rebels had become harmless."<sup>2</sup>

1. *Jahānnāmā*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 6-7, 47-68.

2. Sakuma, op. cit., p. 262.

KHAN JAHAN LOOT was a son of Daudat-Khan Loot, one of Akbar's officers. He held the rank of 5,000 (5) Khan, and was successively governor of Gujarat and Jahangir's rebellion, and the Deccan in the reign of Jahangir. But like many another Afghan under Moghal dominion, he still cherished dreams of independence. Unfortunately he was also guilty of peculation. Never heartily loyal to the Moghal Emperor, he had surrendered Burghat to the 'Mahrattas' for a price 300,000 rupees.<sup>1</sup> After the sudden death of Jahangir, and the temporary uncertainty of succession, he eagerly imagined a great opportunity to assert himself in the South. Shah Jahan, when he succeeded the throne, sent for him, and for a time seemed to have won him over. But the sudden rebuff proved insupportable. He was jealous of Mirza Asaf Khan, whose pretensions as Khan-Khanan he looked upon as a supersession of his own claims. He was also disappointed at what he considered to be a cold reception at Court. He soon began to suspect even his personal safety and feared he might well be called upon to answer for his peculation. Under these circumstances, he determined to seek refuge in flight. He effected this on the night of October 8, 1628. The following is Lachner's account of his insurrection :—

'After the death of Jahangir, and before the accession of Shah Jahan, Khan Jahan Loot entered upon a desperate and disloyal course.... He formed an alliance with Mahrattah Malik, and gave up to him 50 Burghat in the Deccan, the revenue of which amounted to 55 lakhs of silver. But Sayyid Khan, who held Ahermudgar, bravely and legally refused to surrender that city.'

Then Khan Jahan 'marched with a large force to Mirat, with the intention of taking possession of Jhina', but the news of Shah Jahan's accession 'brought him to a sense of his folly and wickedness. Raja Gaj Singh, Raja Jal Singh, and other distinguished Rajputs who had accompanied him to Mirat, parted from him when they heard of Shah Jahan having arrived at Agra. Thereupon Khan Jahan wrote a letter of contrition and submission, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness.

'A royal farman was sent in answer, informing him that he was retained in the governorship of the Deccan, and directing him to return at once to Burghat. He then retired from Mirat to Burghat, and engaged in the duties of his office. But when it was reported that the country of Burghat, which Khan Jahan had given to Mahrattah Malik, still

<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100.

remained in his possession, and had not been recovered, the Emperor appointed Ishikawa Kikui to the governorship of the Dōtoku. Kikui Kikuan then returned to Court. There, in spite of remonstrances from the Emperor, he remained stiff-necked and moody. Later on, "Furious was aggrieved with him, and as his perverse temper prevented him from sparing the Emperor's kindness." Hence his flight above related to.

"As soon as the Emperor was informed of it, he sent Kikida Akio-Hyōmō . . . in pursuit of the fugitive. Unmindful of the smallness of their own force and the numbers of the rebels, they followed him and overtook them in the vicinity of Dōdōgen." Yet, after a bitter fight the rebel escaped. "When the traitor entered the territory of [Jūshū] Singh Bhonsla, that chieftain was about in the Dōtoku; but he did not see Bhonsla's wife at home, and sent the rebel out of the territory by unfrequented roads. If Bhonsla had not thus recovered his escape, he would have been either taken prisoner or killed. He proceeded to Gondwana, and after staying there some time in disappointment and obscurity, he proceeded by way of Bana to the country of Sarman Khatō-i-Mōla."

The rest of the fight, flight and pursuit, need not be followed, with the exception of one incident, viz., the part played by Shihōji Bhonsla, Shiva's father.

"At this time Shihōji Bhonsla, commander of Jūshū Kōji, a Kōtō commander of Khatō Shih's army, came in and joined Azam Khan (the Imperial commander). After the murder of Jūshū Kōji . . . Shihōji broke off his connexion with Khatō Mōla, and, retiring to the districts of Pind and Chikara, he wrote to Azam Khan, proposing to make his submission upon receiving a promise of protection. Azam Khan wrote to Court, and received orders to accept the proposal. Shihōji then came and joined him with two thousand horse. He received a title, a reward of 5000 and a gift of two tens of ruyas and other presents. His brother Mōlō received a robe and a reward of 2000 paricals and 1000 horse. Several of their relatives and dependants also obtained gifts and marks of distinction."

Finally, "Khatō Jūshū was much afflicted at the loss of his sons and followers (who were either killed or taken prisoners by the Imperial forces). All hope of escape was cut off; so he told his followers that he was weary of life, that he had reached the end of his career, and that was no longer any means of deliverance for him: he desired, therefore, that every man should make off as best he could. All few determined to stand by him to the last, but many fled. . . . In the night of the stroke Nādur Singh placed him with a spear, and before Mōlō Khan could come up, the brave fellows cut Khatō Jūshū and his dear son Ake to pieces. About a hundred of his adherents fell, and their heads were cut off. . . . The heads of Khatō Jūshū and Ake . . . were sent to the Imperial Court . . . (His other sons were imprisoned). The heads of the rebels were placed over the gate of the fort. After their victory, Nōdō-i-Khatō and Bairō Mōlō Khan came to Court, and received many marks of favour. The former was advanced to a reward

of 5,000 and 4,000 horse, and he received the title of *Feroz Jung*. Sayid Masud-ur-Rida was promoted to a *mansab* of 5,000 and 4,000 horse. He received the title *Rida Jahan*.<sup>1</sup>

The Portuguese were long settled in the eastern parts of Bengal, but they were never interfered with by the Mughal Emperor so long as their activities were harmless. On the con-

(2) Suppression  
of Portuguese  
Money.

trary, they obtained a monopoly of salt from the Government, and paid 10,000 *tanke* into the Imperial treasury every year.<sup>2</sup> But their covetous adventures soon landed them in trouble. They were not content with mere trade; their missionary zeal to convert the natives evoked much hostility. Matters were made worse by their piratical pursuits also. Often they penetrated forty or fifty leagues up-country, from the river mouths, 'carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for celebration of marriage or some other festival.' They would even 'offer for sale the aged people in their very places of residence, and it was a pathetic sight to see young men seducing their parents.'<sup>3</sup>

Under such prosecution Shih Jahan initiated a ruthless campaign against these foreigners (1652). Various motives are ascribed for this attack on the Portuguese, but that it was neither sustained nor universal, makes it clear beyond doubt that it was partly due to local irritation. Sir Edward Maclagan is perfectly right when he remarks: "The trouble at Hagi was not due primarily to a religious quarrel. The local Government had put no obstacles in the way of propaganda and had paid due respect to the Catholic priesthood . . . . The Viceroy had protected them from the attacks of Mullahs and Pirs. The hostilities undertaken by the Mughals against the Portuguese in Hagi originated in political causes, namely the sympathy and encouragement which the Portuguese of Hagi had given to compatriots, the Ferozgh of Chittagong who were little more than pirates, ready to lend their services to the king of Arakan against the Mughals. A religious element was indeed imported into the quarrel by Shih Jahan, probably for reasons of policy....The

1. *Alifkhatun*, K. & D., no. 48, VII, pp. 1-2.

2. *Memoirs* ascribed about Hagi. "Here I heard the chief inhabitants of Hagi, all of whom are Portuguese, say in those days they alone were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province of Bengal." (*A Peep of Mughal India*, p. 118).

3. *Bornier, Travels*, pp. 174-75.

Portuguese made slaves of large numbers of Mogul subjects, and of these slaves they made Christians—"Ransing," says Barrow, "they made more Christians in a twelve month than all the missionaries in the Indies do in ten years." The religious aspect, however, of the relations between the Moguls and the Portuguese was of subsidiary importance, and there was much apart from religion to justify the punishment of Hugli.<sup>1</sup>

The details of the fight are of little consequence. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely, even desperately, but it was of little avail against the concentrated might of the Empire. The following description taken from the *Shikhar-nama* of Lahori gives a vivid idea of the brief struggle:—

'On the 2nd Bâd hijs, 1041, the attack was made on the Fort by the boatsmen on the river, and by the boats on land.....Having killed or captured all the soldiers, the warriors carried off the families of their boatsmen, who were all Bengalis. Four thousand boatsmen, whom the Bengalis relied upon, then left the Fort and joined the victorious army. This was a great discouragement to the Christians.

The royal army was engaged for three months and a half in the siege of this strong place (Hugli). Sometimes the infidels fought, sometimes they made overtures of peace, protesting the time is hours of success from their countrymen. With base treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace, and sent nearly a lac of rupees as tribute, while at the same time they ordered 7,000 musketeers who were in their service to open fire. So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the besiegers was placed were stripped of their branches and leaves.'

Finally, however, they were all defeated. 'Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner. From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 15,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water, or burnt by fire. Nearly 1,000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom. 4,000 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoners, and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty.'

The figures may not be very accurate. 'On the 11th Muharram (1643 A. H.), the writer concludes, "Khalim Khan and Bahadur Khan brought ..... 400 Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old, with the idols of their worship, to the presence of

1. Macdager, op. cit., pp. 308-1.

the faith-defending Emperor. He ordered that the principles of the Muhammadan religion should be explained to them, and that they should be called upon to adopt it. . . . Those who refused were to be kept in confined confinement. So it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell. Such of their idols as were likenesses of the people's were thrown into the Jamā, the rest were broken to pieces.<sup>7</sup>

Before proceeding to the major political events of the reign a passing reference might be made to some of the

(4) Minor Con-  
quests.

minor conquests of Shah Jahan. Most of these relate to the subjugation of rebellious chieft or petty ruler and nobles, like Bhagwant Khā (1622) and Marvi Qand (1644) in India, and Rājā Pratāp of Patanwar (1642) in Chhātā-Nāgpur, and the turbulent border tribes on the frontiers. But the most notable were perhaps the cases of Little Tibet and Amara. In 1624 the ruler of the former country had been persuaded to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor and to send the *Shahis* in Shah Jahan's name. Failure to maintain this attitude of loyalty resulted in a big expedition, consisting of 2,000 horse and 12,000 infantry, being led into Little Tibet under Zaheer Khān, in 1637-38. The prestige of the Empire was again restored, the *Shahis* were again read in Shah Jahan's name, and an indemnity of one million rupees was also paid into the Imperial treasury by the Tibetan ruler Abdal.

The conquest of Bengal had brought the Mughals into close contact with the Mongoloid states in the north-east of India. After, on the whole, had cultivated friendly relations with the rulers of Koch-Bihar and Kāchāp, but during Jahāngir's reign Mughal policy in this direction "imperceptibly took an aggressive turn." This was largely due to the internal weakness of the states themselves, so

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 21-2, 42-3. Baniyar gives a more glowing picture of the persecution: "The citizens of these people," he writes, "is annihilated in the history of modern times; it nearly annihilated the precious captivity of Babylonia; for even the children, priests, and women shared the universal doom. The handsome women, as well married as single, became inmates of the seraglio; those of a more advanced age or of inferior beauty were distributed among the Qasabs; little children underwent the rite of circumcision and were made pages; and the men of adult age, allowed for the most part by their privileges or terrified by the daily threat of clanking them under the feet of elephants, occupied the Christian field."—*Prinsep*, p. 177.

2. Kishinathaya, *A History of Mughal N. E. Frontier Policy*, pp. 325-26.

less than to the ambition of the Moghal officer, Jilani Khan. Within a short time both Kuch-Bikar and Kharizm were annexed to the Empire. The next step of Moghal Imperialism was naturally to Assam. This was reserved for successful execution in the reign of Shah Jahan. From 1626-28 there was open war between the Empire and Assam. It resulted in the definite fixing of boundaries and resumption of peaceful trade relations, not unaided with diplomacy, during the rest of the reign (1626-27).<sup>1</sup> The outbreak of the fratricidal war unsettled everything for the moment.

### III. BADAKSHIAN AND KANDAHAR

The unrealized ambition of Babur to conquer and rule over his ancestral dominions in Samarkand and Balkhara, seemed to be still active, through some principle of heredity, in the reign of Shah Jahan. The stars of the Empire were clearly on the ascendant, and Shah Jahan, who had even as a Prince made his mark as a conqueror, now cast watchful eyes beyond the Hindukush towards Transoxiana, Balch, and Badakhsan. He turned the potent arms of the Empire for the reconquest of these distant regions as well as of Kandahar which had been lost since 1523. The result in both cases, unfortunately, was disastrous.

A quarrel between Nizam Muhammad Khan, ruler of Badakhshan, and his son Abul-i Ala, gave Shah Jahan the tempting opportunity for interference.<sup>2</sup> In June 1646, he sent an army of 50,000 horse and 10,000 foot, under the command of Prince Murad and Ali Mardan Khan, into Balch. They entered the city in July, and were rewarded by the capture

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 354-55.

2. "Ever since the beginning of his reign" writes Abul-i Hasan Lahori, "the Emperor's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balch and Badakhsan, which were hereditary territories of his house, and were the keys to the acquisition of Samarkand, the home and capital of his great ancestor Timur Shah-Khan. He was more especially incited on this because Nizam Muhammad Khan had the presumption to attack Kabul (1628) from whence he had been driven back in disgrace. The prosecution of the Emperor's destined enterprise had been hitherto prevented by various obstacles;..... but now the feasibility of the authority of Nizam Muhammad was shaken, and his authority in Balch was precarious;..... So the Emperor determined to send his son Murad Balch with fifty thousand horse, and ten thousand musketeers, pikemen and papaya, to effect the conquest of that country;..... On the last day of 245 A.H., 1646 A.D., the Emperor gave his farewell to Prince Murad Balch, to Abul-i Hasan (Ali Mardan Khan) and the other officers sent on this service.—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 79.

of treasure worth 22 lac of rupees, 2,500 horses and 500 camels. Naur Muhammad set away to Persia, whence he returned triumphant not very long after. It is extremely interesting to note the Imperial anxiety about this interference in a foreign dominion. Says the *Shah Jahan-nama* : ' As it happened, from the commencement of his invasion of Balch, this very design had been buried in the depths of his comprehensive mind, viz., that after clearing the Kingdoms of Balch and Badakhshan from the slavery of the Tatars and sovereignty, he should restore them in safety to Naur Muhammad Akbar. The latter, however, according to the dictates of prudence, hesitated to do so, etc.'<sup>1</sup> In spite of the victory of the Imperial arms, Prince Murad had no desire to remain long in these turbulent regions, and evinced on the contrary a keen desire to get back to India. ' Many of the amirs and mansab-dars who were with the Prince concurred in this unreasonable desire. Natural love of home, a preference for the ways and customs of Hindustan, a dislike of the people and the manners of Balch, and the rigours of the climate, all concurred to this desire. This resolution became a cause of distress among the rajputs, of dependency among the soldiers, and of hesitation among the men who were coming into Balch from all quarters. The soldiers, seeing this vacillation, began to plunder and oppress the people. So, when the Prince's desire was repeatedly expressed, the Emperor's anger was increased. He deprived the Prince of his mansab, and took from him his fayed of Multan.

<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances, to settle the confusion in Balch, the Emperor found it necessary to send there a trustworthy and able manager. So he selected Sado-Ba Khân, his prime-minister. . . . Sado-Ba Khân returned on the 15th October, 1624-5, having settled the affairs of Balch, and restored order and tranquillity among the soldiers and people, and removed the country from wickedness. He had most effectually carried out the orders of the Emperor, and was rewarded with a *khilat* and a *farman* increase to his mansab.

" On the 23rd Sh'ar' al-Hijra, 1036, the Emperor bestowed the mansab of Balch and Badakhshan on Arangzeb, and increased his mansab to 15,000 personal and 15,000 horse. . . . He was directed to proceed to Peshawar, and on the arrival of Spring to march to Balch, in company with Asaf-ul-Ulama Ali Murad Khân, and a body of Rajputs, who had left Balch and Badakhshan in August, and had come to Peshawar, where they were stopped by an Imperial order directing the officers at Aitak not to allow them to cross the Indus."

1. Ibid. p. 78.

2. Ibid. pp. 71, 2.



But, even Aurangzeb, in spite of his great personal courage, which impressed the Badshahis very much,<sup>1</sup> could not hold the province for long. After the first capture of Balch and the flight of Nurr Muhammad to Persia, Shih Jahan had written to the latter in the following diplomatic strain: "When the Prince (Murad) occupied opposite to Balch, on account of his youth and inexperience, and the laziness and negligence of the officers accompanying him, some undesirable actions were performed, e.g., the entering of Russian Khans into the fort, when you (Nurr Muhammad) were to preserve them. These must have been a source of pain and alarm to you, and I am very sorry to hear of it. . . . But I expected that you would repair to us and not go elsewhere. . . . But fate is stronger than will. . . . I wished to clear Balch of troublesome elements, and to hand it over to you . . . and to place at your disposal an army to help you, when you so desired, to recover *Trans-Oxiana*." Now, on account of the sheer impossibility of maintaining the Maghal position there, the retreat became inevitable. "The country was devastated, winter close at hand, grain scarce, and time short," Aurangzeb told his men, "So that there would be great difficulty in making arrangements for the winter, and remaining in the kingdom during that inclement winter. . . ."

The Prince then marched with all his forces from the neighbourhood of . . . Balch; where, having ceded the country to Nurr Muhammad Khan, he delivered up the town and stated of Balch to Muhammad Shihin and Kalih Kalnah. He presented the former of these, on bidding him farewell, with a jewelled dagger, a horse caparisoned with golden tassels, and 50,000 rupees out of the royal treasury. He also committed to his charge, among the stores contained in the fort and city, 50,000 muns of grain belonging to His Majesty, which, estimated by the rate ruling at that time, was worth five lacs of rupees and besides this, all the granaries of the other forts. . . . From the beginning of the invasion of Balch and Badakhshan (1645) till the end (Oct. 1647), when these conquered territories were ceded to Nurr Muhammad Khan, there were expended out of the State Treasury, in the progress of this under-

1. "The great timidity of Prince Aurangzeb's troops, threw into the hands of the enemy . . . one day, the hour of evening prayer arrived when the battle was at its height; Aurangzeb opened his caput in the field, with shame and sadness and his javelin, regardless of the peril and the armed line. He was then, as during the rest of the campaign, without armour and shield. The Mughal army passed on the snow with wonder, and Akbar Khan, in generous admiration, stopped the fight, saying: To fight with such a man is to court one's own destruction. —*Calcutta, 1871, p. 80.*  
1. *Great India*, p. 304.

raising, the sum of two *hazars* of *rupias*, which is equivalent to seven *lacs* of the *Simsha* current in India.<sup>1</sup>

The march back from Balkh to Kabul (Oct. 1847) was nearly as disastrous as the British withdrawal from Kabul in 1842. According to Inayat Khan, "from the first commencement of the army's crossing to the end, about 5,000 men, a similar number of animals such as horses, elephants, camels, mules, etc., were destroyed and a vast deal of property remained buried in the snow."<sup>2</sup>

Kandahar, on account of its strategical and commercial importance, had ever been the bone of contention between the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of Hindustan. Conquered by Shīrāz in 1222, it had been lost for a time and recovered by Ghazni in 1243. Lost again during Akbar's minority, it was re-acquired in 1595. Jahāngīr once more lost it in 1622, but Shah Jahan regained it in 1638. Ten years later, in 1648, the Persians recaptured Kandahar for the last time, and despite persistent efforts (1648-50 and 1650-53) the Mughals could never wrest it from their hands again. Diplomatic embassies and very costly gifts were exchanged during the intervals, between the Shah and the Emperor, but they were all directed to the study of each other's political advantages and weaknesses with the ultimate object of outwitting the rival. Finally, Persia won this race for Kandahar against the Emperor of Hindustan.

In 1693, Ali Mardin Khan, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, fearing that he might be called upon by the Shah to account

1. Shah Jahan-nama, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 78-9.

2. Shah Jahan-nama, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 81. The First Afghan War, under Lord Auckland closed with a series of disasters greater than those of Alexander in Balkh. Rebels broke out in all directions. The defence of the frontiers was directed by the Afghans, "and everybody in a responsible position behaved with unexampled fidelity." In September 1841 the security of retreat to Jalalabad was arranged. A treaty was signed on 31st Jan. 1842: "the guns, caissons and ordnance stores having been previously given up, leave took, . . . on January 8, the detached army, with numbering about 4,000 troops and 12,000 followers accompanied by a train of camels or mules bearing the women and children, started for Jalalabad. On the 9th, only about 800 men of all arms emerged from the Khwāz Khwāz Gully . . . on the 11th only 300 were left. On the 12th, Dr. Brydon, nearly wounded, and barely able to get assistance to lift upon the overloaded boat that bore him, reached Jalalabad, and told that Afghanistan's army, gone, miserably, however. It being lost, was then completely annihilated. Such was the consummation of a line of policy which from first to last held truth to darkness, and right under foot, and acting on a remote scene was studied for a long, unscrupulously to mislead the public mind" (Smith, *l. cit.*, pp. 399-400).

for the large sums he had disbursed from the revenues of his province, invited the Afghans to capture it. 'On the approach of the Imperial forces,' says Lahori, 'All Mirān Khān collected them into the fortress, and gave it up to them. .... The Governor of Kabul was directed to proceed to Kandahar, and present a list of ransom to All Mirān Khān. He was then to take the Khān to Kabul, and to send him under escort to the Imperial Court, with all his family and dependents.... All the country to Kandahar with its fortress was annexed to the Imperial dominions.'<sup>1</sup> But this was only a short-lived triumph.

When the ambitious Shāh Ashraf II came to the throne, in 1642,

Perak seemed determined to reconquer Kandahar. Owing to the minority of the Shāh, however, the actual attack was not made until 1648. Then, 'it washed the ear of royalty (Shāh Jahān), through

the representations of Daudat Khān, ruler of Kandahar, and Purdill Khān, Governor of Bost, that Shāh Ashraf II, having come to the sacred city of Tān (Mushkad-i-Mukaddas) with intent to reconquer the kingdom of Kandahar, had proceeded towards the confines of Khurasan, with all his matchless men and plumes. It was, besides, reported that he had despatched men to Farah, Sistan, and other places, to collect supplies of grain, and having sent on a party in advance to Herat, was doing his utmost to block up the road on this side; being well aware that, during the winter, owing to the quantity of snow on the ground, the arrival of reinforcements from Hindustan by way of Kabul and Mīshān was impracticable, he proposed advancing in this direction during that inclement season, and had despatched Shāh Kālī Beg, son of Mīrāsad Beg, his uncle, or un-nephew, as possible with a letter to Court, and further that individual in question had reached Kandahar, and, without halting more than three days, had resumed his journey to the august presence.

'His Majesty, after hearing this intelligence, having summoned Allāmir Badakhsh Khān from the metropolis, commanded him to write Jerusalem to all the nobles and mansabdars who were at their residen-

1. *Mabūd-i-Nava*, B. & D., off. ed., VII, p. 64. All Mirān Khān later, as we have seen, served in the Badakhshan campaign. He was promoted up to a rank of 7,000 *ah* and *mansab*, and made accordingly Governor of the Farah and Kandahar. The *Shah Canal*, or *Kreek* in English, near Lahore, was built during his governorship.

five estates, *ajlās*, and horses, directing them to set out with all speed for Court. It was likewise ordered that the noblemen should determine the proper moment for the departure of the world-travelling camp from the metropolis to the capitals Lahore and Kabul.

'As soon as it reached the third mē, . . . that . . . the Shāh had arrived outside the fortress of Kandahar, and besieged it, the ever successful Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur was appointed to proceed thither with Mirza Saadulla Khan, and some of the chief officers of State, such as Bahadur Khan, Mirza Fāiz Jai Singh, Nurstan Khan, Fāiz Bakhshidā, and Kalich Khan. Besides them, there were upwards of fifty individuals born amongst the nobles, and a vast number of servants, slaves and soldiers, and matchlockmen—the whole number of whom, under the regulations requiring them to bring one-fifth of their respective rates of fighting men into the field, would amount to 20,000 horsemen, and according to the rule allowing a fourth, to 60,000—as well as 10,000 infantry, matchlock and rocket men, etc. It was ordered that subsidiary grants of the money out of the State Exchequer should be made to the nobles and mansabdars holding *ajlās*, who were appointed to serve in this expedition, at the rate of 200 rupees for every individual horseman, which would be a *lakh* for every hundred (thousand!); that to those who drew pecuniary stipends in place of holding *ajlās*, three months' pay in advance should be disbursed; and in like manner also to the slaves and matchlockmen, who numbered 5,000 horse, should a similar advance be made: so that they might not suffer any privations during the campaign from want of funds to meet their current expenses. . . . It was further commanded that the over-vigilant army should hasten to Kabul via *Kangash-i Isā* and *Kangash-i payā*, as they were the shortest routes, and thence proceed by way of Ghazni towards Kandahar.'

In spite of all these elaborate preparations, however, Kandahar could not be taken from the doughty Persians.

'Some of the Mughal mansabdars, slaves, and matchlockmen too, having spiked the shut of treason on the heads of loyalty, entered into a league with them, and having risen in front of the fort, declared that, in consequence of all the roads being closed, from the vast quantity of men on the ground, there was no hope of the early arrival of succour, and that it was evident from the untiring efforts of the Afghans, that they would very shortly capture the fort, and after its reduction by fire and violence, neither would there be any chance of their own lives being spared, nor of their offspring being saved from captivity. The wretched Daulat Khan, who ought instantly to have extinguished the flames of this sedition with the water of the sword, showed an utter want of spirit, by contending himself with offering advice in reply. . . .

'After the fortress of Kandahar had been besieged for three months and a half, so that grain and fodder were beginning to be scarce, notwithstanding the profligate assertions of the faithful

circumstances of the Queen, owing to their having with them neither a single train of battering guns, nor skilled artillerymen, the capture of the fortress seemed as distant as ever. For these reasons, and as the winter also was close at hand, a jemadar was issued to the Hindustani Prince (Aurangzeb), to the effect that, as the reduction of the fortress without the aid of heavy guns was impracticable, and there was not now sufficient time remaining for them to arrive in, he should defer its capture till a more convenient opportunity, and start for Hindustan with the "victorious" troops..... the Prince did not deem it expedient to delay any longer, but in obedience to the mandate worthy of all attentions, set out with the "victorious" force from Kandahar on the 8th of the month of Ramezan this year for Hindustan." (Sept. 3, 1688)

In May 1682, another effort was made to recover Kandahar,

Saved Ship of  
Kandahar.

but with no better result. "His Majesty dispatched Ahmed, with the multitude of forces (mounting the waves of the sea), amounting together with the army serving in Kabul to 10,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including musketeers, gunners, bombardiers, and rocketmen, for the purpose of conquering the country and fortress of Kandahar, Bost and Zamin-damar. He was further accompanied by ten large and precious war-elephants, eight heavy and twenty light guns; the latter of which carried two and two and a half lb (four and five lbs.) shot, and during an engagement, used to be advanced in front of the army; twenty elephants carrying kettles, and 100 camels with shotwheels, besides a well-regimented treasury, and other suitable equipments. He was instructed to repeat by way of Kabul and Ghazni to Kandahar, and about 3,000 camels were employed in the transport of artillery stores, such as lead, powder and iron shot.....

"As it had been determined that the siege of the fortress should be commenced simultaneously with the arrival (of Aurangzeb) at Kandahar, the fortunate Prince, having finished marking out the positions that the royal forces were to occupy, invested the stronghold that very day..... For two months and eight days the flames of war burned fiercely, and on both sides numerous casualties occurred..... To be brief, the royalists used the most strenuous exertions, and laboured with unremitting zeal and assiduity in

carrying forward the parallels and signs of attack, and defending, by the crest of the parapet and the bastions. Nevertheless, as the fortress possessed immense strength and was filled with all the military weapons and stores required for an effective defence, their utmost efforts produced no impression, and, owing to the storm of shot and shell that poured on them like a shower of rain from the fort, they were unable to advance their trenches beyond the spot they had already brought them to. [The artillery proved ineffective.]

As soon as these particulars became known to His Majesty's well-informing understanding, and he was informed that the capture of the fortress was at that period impracticable; and it also reached the royal ear that the Uzbeks and Amirs had come into the neighbourhood of Chirchik, and excited tumults. . . . a firman was issued to the illustrious Prince (Aurangzeb) on the 4th of Sha'ban, to withdraw his forces from around the fortress, and, deferring its capture till some other period, to take his siege train along with him and set out for Court.<sup>1</sup> [July 2, 1652].

Despite the failure of the first two attempts, Shah Jahan resolved to make yet another effort in 1652. But

Third Siege of Kandahar. At this time the command was entrusted to Prince

Diraz instead of Aurangzeb. To follow Imperial Khan's narrative: "As the Prince Buland Iqbal (Dilrâz Shikoh), after the return of the army from Kandahar, had guaranteed to conquer that territory, and with this view the provinces of Kabul and Multan had been bestowed upon him, His Royal Highness, on reaching the capital, applied himself to the task of making the requisite arrangements for the campaign. In the course of three months and some days that he remained at Lahore, he made such profuse exertions, that what could not have been otherwise accomplished in a year was effected in this short period.

<sup>1</sup> Among the siege train was a gun called *Kishwar-shah* (Crown-conqueror), and another *Gand-i-Shamshir* (Sword-shattering), each of which carried an iron shot one man and eight *zir* in weight (96 lbs.); and they were worked by the gunners under the direction of Miran Khan. There was also another large piece of ordnance that carried a shot of a man and sixteen *zir* (112 lbs.), and was piled under the management of His Royal Highness's *Mir-i-malik*, as well as 30,000 *manro-kahs*, small and great. He also got ready 5,000 mow of gun-powder, and 1,500 of lead, measuring by Imperial weight, and 34,000 rockets.

1. *Shah Jahan-nama*, E. & D. op. cit. VII, pp. 59-61.

'Having Kavala collected as many prisoners as was possible, he made arrangements for the army commissariat and the safe arrival of supplies. He then despatched a letter to Court, representing that as the season of sowing was fast for the Third Kalif's month, and the preliminary arrangements for the campaign had been completed, if the royal ladies appointed to this enterprise received their desires, he would set out for Kandahar. A mandate in the suspicious handwriting was, therefore, issued, directing His Royal Highness to start off at the pre-determined moment by way of Balkh, as which road provisions and forage were abundant.'<sup>1</sup>

Dilak left Lahore on February 11, 1853, and arrived at Kandahar on April 23, 1853. But a siege of over five months showed that, in spite of Dilak's pompous equipment, Kandahar could not be conquered. A few minor successes were, no doubt, achieved, but the main objective remained unfulfilled. Again the old story repeated itself: 'The winter began to set in, all the lead, powder, and cannon-balls were expended, and neither was there any forage left in the meadows, nor provisions with the army. A terrible famine was caused by this effect, that, as the winter was close at hand, and they had already been long detained in Kandahar, if the reduction of the fortress could not be effected just at once, they might stay if necessary some short time longer; or otherwise return immediately. . . . Not one of the royalist commanders proposed staying any longer. The Prince Buland Iqbal consequently, on 25th Shal he'be this year, set out from Kandahar for Heratshan' (September 27, 1853).

Despite his colossal failure, Prince Dilak was magnificently rewarded. 'On the 5th of Rebi'ul-a second this year (1853-4), being the expiration of the sixty-fifth lunar year of His Majesty's age, a festival was celebrated with exceeding splendour, and was attended with the usual ceremonies. In this sublime assembly the Emperor kindly conferred on the Prince Buland Iqbal a handsome shikar with a gold-embroidered vest, studded with valuable diamonds round the collar; on both sleeves, and the skirts, pearls had been sewn, and it was worth 50,000; and also a velvet compound of a single robe of the finest water, and two magnificent pinks, of the value of a lac and 70,000 rupees, and a donation of thirty two besides. He also distinguished His Royal Highness by the lofty title of Shah Buland Iqbal, which had been applied exclusively to Mir-

1. Shah Jahan-nama, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 181-2.

self during his late Majesty's reign; and since in the days of his Princehood a chair had been placed at the Emperor's suggestion opposite to the throne for him to sit on, he now in like manner directed his Royal Highness to seat himself on a golden chair that had been placed near the sublime throne.<sup>1</sup>

"Trustworthy estimates," writes V. A. Smith, "place the cost of the three sieges of Kandahar (1549, 1552, 1559) at 12 'crores,' or 120 millions of rupees, not less than half of the annual income of the empire, which is stated to have been 22 'crores', or 220 millions of rupees, in 1548. During Shāh Jahān's reign the value of the rupee in English currency was usually taken at 2s. 3d. The imperial revenues, therefore, may be reckoned as 24½ millions of pounds sterling, or, in round figures, as about 25 millions."<sup>2</sup>

#### IV. THE DECCAN

The history of Mughal relations with the Deccan has already been narrated up to the commencement of Shāh Jahān's reign. Aurang had annexed Khândesh in 1592, and captured Asirgarh in 1601, when he was suddenly called to the north on account of Salim's rebellion. He had also secured Berar which was then a part of the Nizām-shāhī dominion of Ahmadnagar. Jahāngir, in spite of his prolonged and elaborate campaigns in the Deccan, was unable to make any headway in the South. This was partly due to the quarrels among the Mughal generals, on the one hand, and the intrepid opposition of Malik Ambar (d. 1606), the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, on the other. However, thanks to the ability and prestige of Shāh Jahān, the status quo was maintained. The Deccan, too, had been the refuge of many a rebel against the Empire. Shāh Jahān himself had sought shelter there, with Malik Ambar and the King of Golkonda, during his rebellion as a prince. At the commencement of his reign the same story was repeated by Jangir and Khān Jahān Lodi in the course of their insurrections. To prevent further repetitions of this nature, as well as to pursue his ancestral policy to its logical conclusion, therefore, Shāh Jahān felt it necessary to subdue the three Deccan kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda.

1. *Shāh Jahān-namā*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 192, 194-5.

2. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 475.



The reduction of Ahmednagar became comparatively easy owing to the treacherous conduct of its officers, particularly Fath Khān, the unworthy son of Malik Ambar. When this great Abyssinian

died in 1626, the Mughal possessions in the Deccan included Khairatabad, Bhor, parts of Bidghat, and the fort of Ahmednagar. But during the disturbed state of the empire in the last year of Jahāngir's reign, the Nizam Shāh Murām II had victoriously re-conquered much of his lost territory, with the connivance of the peccant Mughal governor, Khān Jahan. When the latter, in the early years of Shāh Jahan, made matters worse by his rebellion, a systematic campaign was launched against Ahmednagar (then including Aurangabad, Jalga, Nashik, Baglura, and Kolhapur). Asim Khān, the Mughal commander, captured Dhavur and Karachiav, and though his attempt at Parvata was foiled by a combination of Bijapur and Ahmednagar forces, their guerrilla tactics, and the shortage of supplies, he succeeded in devastating the whole country and threatened the extinction of the Nizam-shah altogether. The internal weakness of the Sultanate enabled the Mughals to achieve their end without much trouble.

Fath Khān had been imprisoned for a second time, for his contumacious conduct, by Murām II. But the present crisis and the criticism of Murām's wife, who was Fath Khān's sister, obtained his release and reappointment as Vakil and Peshva. The superseded officer, Muzarrab Khān, on this account went over to the enemy who rewarded him with the title of *Nizam Khān*. Fath Khān showed his gratitude and patriotism by imprisoning his own master and writing to Asaf Khān, "informing him that he had placed Nizam Shāh in confinement on account of his evil character and his enmity to the Imperial throne, for which act he hoped to receive some mark of favour. In answer he was told that if he wished to prove his sincerity, he should rid the world of such a wicked being. On receiving this direction, Fath Khān secretly made away with Nizam Shāh, but gave out that he had died a natural death. He placed Nizam Shāh's son Hussain, a lad ten years old, on the throne as his successor. He reported these facts to the Imperial Court, and was directed to send the jewels and valuables of the late King, and his own eldest son as a hostage."<sup>1</sup> Though

1. *Shah-Jahan-nama*, E. & D., op. cit., p. 25.

Path Kīlān temporised for a time to fulfil this, he ultimately yielded and sent to the Emperor 30 elephants, 9 horses, and jewellery worth 1,50,000 rupees. He also sent the *shāhīr*, and struck coins in Śāhī Jānā's name, upon which Śāhī Jānā left Burhānpur, on March 6, 1632, and returned to the capital.

"With Śāhīshāh's return to the North, the first stage in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar came to a close.... Mainly, two considerations affected Śāhīshāh's decision to return to the North: first the outbreak of severe famine<sup>1</sup> which drained his resources and incapacitated his men, and second, the death of his beloved wife, Mānāhī Mahāl, which grieved him intensely.<sup>2</sup> He was disgusted with the Deccan and was unwilling to remain there. It was a human frailty which overcame him on this occasion, otherwise he seldom left things half done."<sup>3</sup>

But very soon Daulatshāh proved the storm-centre of a fresh struggle. A dispute arose between Path Kīlān and Śāhīr (whose

1. Lakshī's account of this famine is as follows:—'During the past year no rain had fallen in the territories of the Śāhīshāh, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatshāh. In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries and a coal went in the Dakhin and Gāzīrāt. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the utmost extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; flesh was to be sold for a coin, but none dared for it; the cow-breeders' herd was now distributed out to beg for food; and the feet which had always trodden the way of righteousness walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for gnat's flesh, and the pomegranate bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered the soldiers were brought to justice. Destruction at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a man was preferred to his liver. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move, watched off to the towns and villages of other countries. These lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productivity.' The relief measures will be considered later. (K. & D., op. cit., p. 24).

2. She was, it will be remembered, the daughter of Asaf Kīlān, and hence Mīr Jānā's niece. At the time of her death she was about 40 years of age, and had borne her husband eight sons and six daughters. 'The married life of 20 years was unique in its happiness. She was deeply loved by Śāhī Jānā for whom she was really a guide, philosopher and friend. Her sudden death during the temporary absence, at Burhānpur, shocked and straggled her husband. He did not appear at the funeral for a week, and deplored her loss for two years. Like the Princess of Calicut, his hair suddenly turned white. Śāhī Jānā lived for 28 years more to mourn her irreparable loss. 'Empire has its sweetness, life itself has no wish left for me now,' he declared. His abiding love found its eternal monument in the Tūl, perhaps the most unique establishment of a lover's heart yet to be seen in this world.

3. Salomon, op. cit., p. 128.



## MAIN TV SHOW



alliance to the Mughals has been previously mentioned) over certain grants of *ajals* which were claimed by both. Consequently, Shāhī, with the aid of the Bijapuris, prepared to besiege Fakh Khān in Daulatabad. The latter was much incensed against the Mughals, and had no faith in them; so he wrote to Khān-i-Khānān Malikhar Khān, informing him that Shāhaji Bhonsla was preparing to bring a force from Bijapur against him, and that as the fortress was ill-provisioned, there was great probability of its being taken, unless Malikhar Khān came to his assistance. If the Khān came quickly, he would surrender the fortress, and would himself proceed to the Imperial Court.

The Khān-i-Khānān accordingly sent forward his son, Khān-i-Sāhib, with an advance force, and he himself followed on the 9th *Jumād-ul-awwal*. He reached Daulatabad on March 3, 1603. In the meantime, the Bijapur army met with a reverse at the hands of Khān-i-Sāhib, and so they made offers of an arrangement to Fakh Khān. They offered to leave the fortress in his possession, to give him three *lakh* of *pagoda* in cash, and to throw provisions into the fort. That ill-starred foolish fellow, altered by these promises, broke his former engagement (with the Mughals), and entered into an alliance with them. When Khān-i-Khānān, who was at Bahadurgarh, was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to Khān-i-Sāhib, directing him to make every effort for the reduction of the fortress, and for the punishment of the traitor and the Bijapuris. When Khān-i-Khānān joined his son in the attack on Daulatabad, and stormed the fortress with shot and shell, Fakh Khān 'woke up from his sleep of heedlessness and glee. He saw that Daulatabad could not resist the Imperial arms and the vigour of the Imperial commander. To save the honour of his own and Nizam Shāh's women, he sent his eldest son Abdu-Rasul to Khān-i-Khānān (laying the blame of his conduct on Shāhaji and the Aul-i-Khānān). He begged for forgiveness and for a week's delay to enable him to remove his and Nizam Shāh's family from the fortress, while his son remained as a hostage in Khān-i-Khānān's power. Khān-i-Khānān had compassion on his fallen condition, granted him safety, and kept his son as a hostage. Fakh Khān asked to be supplied with the means of carrying out his family and property, and with money for expenses. Khān-i-Khānān sent him his own elephants and camels and several horses, also ten, five and fifty thousand *rupias* in cash, belonging to the State, and demanded the surrender of the fortress. Fakh Khān sent the keys to Khān-i-Khānān, and set about preparing his own departure. Khān-i-Khānān then placed trusty guards over the gates.

On the 26th of Zi'l-Hijja, Fakh Khān came out of the fort and delivered it up (June 17, 1603). The fortress consisted of nine different walls, five upon the low ground, and four upon the top of the hill.

1. The Khān-i-Khānān gives the following description of Daulatabad:—

M. C. II.—2

Then with the guns and all the munitions of war just surrendered.... Khankhanan went into the fortress, and had the chamber read in the Emperor's name.' The boy prince Mirza Salih was taken captive and imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior. 'The armies of Fakh Khán were warily guarded; he was admitted into the Imperial service, and received a *Misak* and a grant of two lakhs of rupees per annum. His property also was relinquished to him, but that of Mirza Salih was confiscated.' (Sept. 21, 1635.)

Although this event virtually extinguished the Nizām-shahī dynasty for ever, it did not mean the total subjugation of Ahmadnagar at once. The Nizām-shahī and Adil-shahī officers still held out in some respects which they would not surrender without a struggle. More than others, Shihōji, with his strong hold on Junnar, Poona, and Chikna, now proved as intrepid and resourceful as Malik Ambar had been in the previous reign. He counted a not inconsiderable band when he tried to rally all the Deccanī forces, both Nizām-shahī and Adil-shahī.<sup>1</sup> But the Mughals proved too strong for him; and he had to yield fort after fort to them. Mortara Khán, governor of Daulatabad, Alih Yaqūl Khán, governor of Painghūr, Khán Dardar, Khán Zardar, and other Mughal generals hurried Shihōji from place to place. Finally, Salih himself left Agra on Sept. 21, 1635, to direct the operations and reached Badkubur in January, 1636. One by one Shihōji's supporters and allies were either won over or neutralized by bribe and

<sup>1</sup> The old name of the fortress of Daulatabad was Dargah, or Dharagat. It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky. In circumference it measures 4,000 legal paces, and the rock all round it creeps so carefully, from the base of the fort to the level of the water, that a mole or an ant would ascend it with difficulty. Around it there is a most dirty pond in width, and thirty in depth, cut into the solid rock. In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage, like the secret of a cavern, and a light is required there to bend daylight. The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate. It is by this road, and way that the fortress is entered. By the passage a large iron ladder had been constructed, which, when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in this ladder, the foe would absolutely prevent all progress. The ordinary means of besieging a fort by mines, rams, etc., are of no avail against it.' (E. & D., op. cit., p. 41).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 38-42.

<sup>3</sup> 'Mirza; Malik was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior but the evil-minded Mirza, says Lahori, and other turbulent Musalmān leaders, had bound a boy of the Mirza's family, to whom they gave the title of Nizāmud Daulat. They had got possession of some of the Mirza's territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government.' (E. & D., op. cit., p. 51).

<sup>4</sup> Khán-dahlan Mahabat Khán died at this stage.

forests. Ulgir, Azna, Mithali, and other districts were all into Maghal hands. The account of this campaign given in the *Sikh-siropa* is as follows :—

'Now that the Emperor was near Dushaidah, he determined to send Khin-darwan, Khin-sandah, and Shayima Khin, at the head of three different divisions, to punish those rebels, and in the event of Adil Khin falling to cooperate with them, they were ordered to attack and ravage his territories.....Khin-darwan's force consisted of about 20,000 horse, and he was sent towards Kandhar and Mandoh, which join the territories of Golkonda and Bijapur, with directions to ravage the country and to besiege the forts of Ulgir and Uin, two of the strongest forts in those parts.....Khin-sandah's force also consisted of about 20,000 men. He was directed to proceed to Ahmednagar, and ravage the native territory of Sili, which lies in Chander-gaon and Adal near to Ahmednagar. After that he was to release the Koshas from the grasp of Sili, and upon receipt of instructions he was to attack and lay waste the country of Adil Khin.....

It now became known that Adil Khin, misled by evil counsels, and unfaithful of his allegiance had secretly sent money to the commanders of forts Ulgir and Uin. He had also sent Khahiyat Khin with a force to protect those two forts, and had commissioned Randaia to support Sili. Incensed with these acts, the Emperor sent a force of about 20,000 men under Sayid Khahidahan, .... to chastise him. Orders were given that he and Khin-darwan and Khin-sandah should march into the Bijapur territories in three different directions, to prevent Randaia from joining Sili, and to ravage the country from end to end. If Adil Khin should shrink from his headless stupidity, and should pay proper submission, they were to hold their hands; if not, they were to make every exertion to crush him. ...

'Makrammatt Khin, the Imperial envoy, approached Bijapur, and Adil Khin, fearing the consequences of showing disobedience, came forth from the city of five fars to meet him, and made great show of submission and respect.....But the envoy soon discovered that, although he made all these outward demonstrations through fear, he was really determined of exciting disturbances and offering opposition. He made a report to this effect, and upon his arrival, the Imperial order was given to kill and ravage as much as possible in the Bijapur territories.

'When Abdol Latif, the envoy to Golkonda, approached the city, Khatul Mulla came forth five fars to receive him, and conducted him to the city with great honour.....He had the shahis read aloud in the name of the Emperor: he several times attended when Khurba was read, and bestowed gifts upon the reader, and he had coins struck in the Emperor's name, and sent specimens of them to Court.'

Adil Khin, finding that his territory was ravaged by the Maghal armies, at last submitted. 'He agreed to pay

a tribute equivalent to twenty four in jewels, elephants, etc., and engaged that if Shih returned and surrendered Junir and the other forts in the Malabar territory to the Imperial officers, he would take him into his service; but if Shih did not do so, he would assist the Imperial forces in reducing the forts and punishing Shih. . . . There was, therefore, no chance for the Emperor's staying any longer, and would be a great favour if he (Shih Jahān) would proceed to the capital, so that the subjects and people of Bijapur might return peacefully to their occupations. The Emperor graciously consented, and resolved to go and spend the rainy season at Mandi. Adil Khān's tribute. . . . arrived, and was accepted. The Emperor confirmed to him the territory of Bijapur and the fortress of Paranda, which had formerly belonged to Nizam-i Mulk, but the commandant had surrendered to Adil Khān for a bribe. He also confirmed to him all the country of Kōkan on the sea-shore, which had been formerly held half by him and half by Nizam-i Mulk.' (May 6, 1626.)

'On the 2nd Bid Mīl the Emperor appointed Prince Aurangzeb to the government of the Dekhān. This country contains 64 forts, 53 of which are situated on hills; the remaining 11 are in the plains. It is divided into four sabs: 1. *Daulatabad*, with Ahmadnagar and other districts, which they call the sabs of the Dekhān. The capital of this province, which belonged to Nizam-i Mulk, was formerly Ahmadnagar, and afterwards Daulatabad. 2. *Falgunna*. This is situated in the sabs of Balāghān. 3. *Kābulshah*. The fortress of this province is Ashr, and the capital is Burhānpur, situated four kos from Ashr. 4. *Bēver*. The capital of this province is Ellichpur, and its famous fortress is called Gwal. It is built on the top of a hill, and is noted above all the fortresses in that country for strength and security. The whole of the three provinces and a part of the fourth is in the Payā-gāh. The 'jamt' or total revenue of the four provinces is two Arābs of dāms, equivalent to five crores of rupees.' Both from a civil and military point of view, Aurangzeb's appointment proved particularly happy for the Empire.

'Shih had declined entering the service of Adil Khān, and refused to surrender Junir and the other fortresses to the Imperial officers. Adil Khān,



Devanah, sent his decree, under the countersign of Randaia, to co-operate with the Imperial army in the destruction of Sikk, and the reduction of his fortresses.<sup>1</sup> This was accomplished at last by Khin-mand, who, however, succumbed at the end of this struggle and died at Daulatabad "from a complication of diseases of long standing..... Shajidin Khin was appointed to succeed him in his command."

According to Abul Hasan Ali, whose narrative we have followed so far, "When the place (Sikk) was hard pressed, Sikk wrote separately to Khin-mand, offering to surrender the fortress on condition of being received into the Imperial service. He was informed that if he wished to save his life, he must come to terms with Adil Khin, for such was the Emperor's command. He was also advised to be quick in doing so, if he wished to escape from the swords of the besiegers. So he was compelled to make his submission to Adil Khin, and he brought that a treaty might be made with him. After the arrival of the treaty, he made some absurd unreasonable demands, and withdrew from the agreement he had made. But the siege was pressed on, and the final attack drew near, when Sikk came out of the fort and met Randaia half way down the hill, and surrendered himself with the young Nizam. He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khin, and to surrender the fortress of Jand and the other forts to Imperial governors.... Accordingly, the forts of Jand, Trimbak, Trimbakwadi, Hara, Jathin, Jand and Bhatin, were delivered over to Khin-mand.... Randaia under the order of Adil Khin placed the young Nizam in the hands of Khin-mand, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Sikk. The last of the Nizam's children, here referred to, was also imprisoned in the fort of Gadul, where there were two other of the Nizams—one of whom was made prisoner at the capture of Ahmednagar in the reign of Jahangir, and the other at the downfall of Daulatabad in the present reign."

This brought about the final extinction of the Nizam-shahi dynasty of Ahmednagar. "Thus after forty years of strife (1565-1600)," writes Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, "the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The position of the Emperor was asserted beyond challenge, his boundaries clearly defined, and his suzerainty over the southern kingdoms formally established."<sup>2</sup>

The slight surrender of Rath Sikk to the imperious demands of Sikk Jahan, described above, was due to several causes.

In the first place, the Rath-shahi had felt the might of the Moghul arms as early as 1529, when Balid Khin, the Imperial Governor of Orissa, captured the strategic

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

2. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, p. 41.

stronghold of Marasgaṇḍ in the north of the kingdom. This was followed, a year later, by the invasion of Telengana by Nasir Khān, the seizure of Kandhar,<sup>1</sup> and the reduction of nearly a third of that province. Secondly, Golkonda was weakened by her internal squabbles. Mir Jura, a Persian adventurer from Archān, who started life as a jeweller, had entered the service of Kāth Shāh, and risen to the position of the prime-minister. Ultimately, by virtue of his ability also as a general, he threatened to usurp the throne itself. Mir Jura, "in whose hands was the entire administration of Kāthā-l Mādā's kingdom," according to the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* 'had, after a severe struggle with the Karātākā, brought under subjection, in addition to a powerful fort, a tract of country measuring 120-has in length, and 20 or 30 in breadth, and yielding a revenue of 40 lacs of rupees. It also contained mines teeming with diamonds, and so one of Kāthā-l Mādā's ancestors had ever been able to gain possession of any portion of it. Having destroyed several strong forts built by the Karātākā, he had brought this country into his power.'<sup>2</sup> Shāh Jahān's mother fearing Mir Jura's growing power imprisoned his son. So, Mir Jura appealed to the Mughal Court for intervention.

The ambitious and aggressive Aurangzeb, who had been viceroy in the Deccan for eight years, from 1626 to 1644, was again in the south at this time. In 1633 he had gone to the capital for his own marriage with Dilras Bano Begam, daughter of Shāh Jahān's Khān. Again in 1644 he went to Agra to see his sister Jahanāra who was dangerously ill, being accidentally burnt, her skirts having caught fire over a candle. "She hovered

1. 'Nasir Khān had been placed in command of a force, with instructions to conquer the kingdom of Telengana. He resolved upon reducing the fort of Kandhar (about 25 miles east of Dharu, and 25 miles south-west of Nāndar), which was exceedingly strong, and the most famous one of that country..... The garrison kept up a discharge of musket, mortar, stones and grenades, but the attacking parties pressed on. The conflict raged from mid-day till sunset, but the wall of the fortress was not sufficiently thinned and the defenders kept up such a heavy fire that the assailants were forced to retire. At night the trenches were carried forward, and preparations were made for firing the other mine. The garrison saw that the place must fall, and..... made offers of surrender, which were accepted, and the imperial troops took possession of the fortress..... The siege had lasted for four months and 13 days, and the place fell on the 10th Shawwal.' *Shāhjahān-nāma*, E. & O., op. cit., VII, pp. 26-7.

2. E. & O., op. cit., p. 108. Karātākā here means the subjects of the Rāk of Chondāpur, representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty.

between life and death for four months, and was not finally cured until November.<sup>71</sup> Mysteriously enough, when Aurangzeb was still in Agra, he was supereded in the South, and after a little over eight months sent to Gujarat (Feb. 16, 1645). In January, 1647, he was transferred to Balikh, Burdikhutan and Kandahar, whence, for no fault of his, he had to return discomfited in 1652. Aurangzeb's pride was mortified, and he desired to redress his reputation by persisting in the little north-western campaigns. But Shah Jahan had lost faith in him; he said, 'If I had believed you capable of taking Kandahar, I should not have recalled your army.' Nevertheless, as Lane-Poole has observed, the campaigns in Afghanistan and beyond the Hindukush, "were of the greatest service to Aurangzeb. They put him in touch with the Imperial army, and enabled him to prove his courage and tactics in the eyes of the best officers in the land. The generals learnt to appreciate him at his true value, and the men discovered that their prince was an cool and steady a leader as the best officer in India. He had gone over the mountains a repeated devotee, with no military record to give him prestige. He came back an approved general: a prince, whose wisdom, coolness, endurance, and resolution had been tested and confirmed in three arduous campaigns. The wars over the north-west frontier had ended as such wars have ended since, but they had done for Aurangzeb what they did for Shamsi and Roberts: they placed their leader in the front rank of Indian generals."<sup>72</sup>

Such was Aurangzeb when he assumed, for a second time, the viceroyalty of the Deccan (1652). Though he lingered for about nine months at Burdikhutan, entangled by the claims of Haidar alias Zahiruddin Mahal, he soon took up his headquarters at Dabulabad, and set about improving the economic condition of his new charge. This, however, we shall consider a little later. With his economic resources considerably increased by his wise fiscal reforms, basking for an opportunity to restore his prestige with his father by some fresh conquests, and not a little enthused at the prospect of striking a blow at the heretical Shia Saltnate of the Deccan, Aurangzeb grasped the occasion provided by the invitation of Mir:

1. Smith, *O. E.*, p. 361. Smith discounts the familiar story of the English surgeon, Gabriel Bampfylde (Browder), having cured the Emperor in return for trade privileges for the E. I. Co. Bampfylde did not proceed to Agra until 1661, when Jahangir had already got well. (Smith, *l. c.*)

2. Lane-Poole, *Mughal India*, pp. 249-57.

Jamia, with great clarity. Determined and aggressive Imperialism was never at a loss for excuses!

Golkonda was in arrears of tribute. Abda-lla Kutb Shah was ordered to make good the dues at once. He was also asked to release the imprisoned members of Mir Jamia's family. But the real attitude and intentions of Aurangzeb are revealed in his unmistakable mandate to his son, Muhammad Sultan, whom he sent in advance.

'Qutb-ud-Daula is a coward and will probably offer no resistance. Surround his palace with your artillery and also post a detachment to bar his flight to Golkonda. But before doing so, send a carefully chosen messenger to him, saying, "I had so long been expecting that you would meet me and hospitably ask me to stay with you. But, as you have not done so, I have myself come to you." Immediately on delivering this message, attack him impetuously, and, if you are unable to, lighten his soul of the burden of his head. The best means of achieving this plan are celerity, promptitude, and lightness of hand."<sup>1</sup>

Though Kutb Shah's task was not lightened of the burden of his head, the expected happened. The fabulous riches of Golkonda were plundered, and Aurangzeb, who joined his son on Feb. 5, 1686, would have wholly annexed the kingdom, but for Shah Jahan's countermarching Jemshid. Accordingly, the siege was raised on 30th March. Peace was concluded with the Kutb Shah, whose daughter was also married to Aurangzeb's son, Muhammad Sultan, who (by a secret understanding) was to succeed Abda-lla on the throne of Golkonda; considerable arrears were made in the tribute due from the Kutb Shah; the district of Raigar (Mandford and Chikar) was ceded to the Empire; and Mir Jamia was admitted into the Imperial service, given the title of Musamman Khan with rank of 6,000 and on the death of Sadullah Khan appointed prime-minister of Shah Jahan. "The deceased minister," according to Smith, "although unfortunate in his military adventures, was reputed one of the best Mohammedan administrators whom India has known."<sup>2</sup>

For twenty years, since the treaty of 1656, Bijapur had enjoyed considerable prosperity under her able Sultan. *Bijapur*.  
Muhammad Adil Shah. But, unfortunately,

<sup>1</sup> I. Smith, *Aurangzeb*, I, p. 336. The Court Historian Inayat Khan, however, puts the blame on Kutb Shah who, according to him, "under the influence of the House of Arangzeb, would not lend, etc." (II, p. 12, 4p. 91, pp. 100-101).

<sup>2</sup> I. Smith, *O. R.*, p. 407.

this great ruler died on Nov. 4, 1656, leaving his kingdom to his eighteen years old son and factions. Aurangzeb, ever watched for an opportunity, obtained permission from Shah Jahan 'to settle the affairs of Bijapur in any way he thought fit.' Though Bijapur was not a vassal state, he put forward a claim to settle its succession on the shrewd plea that the boy-Sultan was not the son of his predecessor but only an obscure pretender.

The Mughal armies once again flooded the Adil-shahi territory. Mir Juma was called from the north to co-operate with Aurangzeb. The important fortress of Bidar (which had come into the possession of Bijapur in 1608) was the first to be besieged.

'This strong fortress was 4500 yards (Ard) in circumference and twelve yards high; and it had three deep ditches twenty-five yards (par) wide, and fifteen yards deep, cut in the slope. The Prince (Aurangzeb) went on with Musamman Khán (Mir Juma) and reconnoitred the fort on all sides. He settled the plans for the lines of approach, and named the fortresses which were to maintain them. Notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up from the bastions and the shade, in the course of ten days Musamman Khán and the other brave commanders pushed their guns up to the very edge of the ditch and began to fill it up. Several times the garrison sallied forth and made fierce attacks upon the trenches, but each time they were driven back with a great loss in killed and wounded .....'. At the end of March, 1657, however, Fateh fell after a gallant resistance. 'The commander of the fortress (Adil Shahi), with great humility, sued for quarter and as he was mortally wounded and unable to move, he sent his sons with the keys of the fortress. They were gradually received by the Prince who presented them with gifts, and presented them the Imperial favour. On the day after giving up the keys, the Prince entered the city, and proceeding to a mosque which had been built 300 years before, in the reign of the Bahamani Sultan, he caused the shrine to be used in the name of the Emperor. .... This strong fortress was thus taken in twenty-seven days. Twelve tons of rapiers in money, and eight tons of rapiers in lead, gun-powder, stones, and other munition of fortress, were obtained, besides two hundred and thirty guns.'<sup>1</sup>

1. 'Bidar is a pleasant, well built city,' writes the same chronicler, 'and stands on the borders of Telingana. It is related in the histories of Hindustan, that Bidar was the seat of government of the Róis of the Deccan, and that the Róis of the Karimshah, Muzaffars (Country), and Telingana were subject to the Róis of Bidar. Durrani (Durrani), the nephew of King Róis of Bidar, whose story Shah Jahan has told in the poem entitled *Nal a Damayanti*, daughter of Bidar Róis, the nephew of Bidar. Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Tughlak, first subdued the place. After that it passed into the hands of the Bahmanis, and subsequently into the possession of the Kings of Bijapur. By the favour of God, it now forms part of the Imperial dominions. *Amat-i Jahán*, II. & III, op. cit., VII, pp. 124-5.

Next, 'Intelligence reached the Prince that large bodies of the forces of Akbar Khan were assembling at Kalabarga, and preparing for war. He consequently went Malabar Khila, with 15,000 well-mounted cavalry to chastise those forces, and not to leave any trace of rebellion in that country. Every building and habitation was to be thrown down, and the land was to be made a dwelling for the cows and asses.... Malabar Khila (1) thus ravaged Kalyāni, and continued his march. Every day the black-coated masses of the army appeared in the distance, but they continued to retreat.....'

Kalyāni, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas (40 miles west of Bidar), was besieged by the Mughals in May, 1657; it capitulated, after a brave defence, on 1st Aug. 1657. Now the road to Bijapur lay open to the invaders. But, as in the case of Golkonda before, Shāh Jahan at the plea of the moment called off the campaign. Peace, however, left Bidar, Kalyāni, and Paranda in the possession of the Mughals. The Sultan also agreed to pay an indemnity of 1½ crores, a third of which was remitted by Shāh Jahan. The illness of Shāh Jahan and the ensuing disorders soon changed the whole face of affairs.

The glistening tale of the fratricidal war of succession need not detain us long. Though it lasted only a little less than a year, from the illness of Shāh Jahan (1657-58), to the coronation of Aurangzeb, in July 1658, its trailing cloud of crime cast a portentous shadow over the future of the Empire. Kāwās, Asaf, Shāhji, Hakim, Salim, Khūrshīd, and Khurram had all been guilty of rebellion against their own ruling house. Humayun, otherwise humane, had been forced into a fratricidal war in spite of himself by the treachery of his brothers: Jahāngir, out of sheer impatience, had opened a dark chapter in the history of the Mughal Empire for the coronation of his successor: Shāh Jahan had secured his throne by the virtual murder of his brothers Khūrshīd, Parvīz, Shāhryār, and other relations. Aurangzeb was only following too closely the examples of his predecessors. The unfortunate, though perhaps tremendous, motto of the house seemed to be: '*Khagāla kharā no āhāla*'; the watchword of the brothers who were now at death-grips with one another appeared to be: '*khāla ya āhāla*'—either crown or coffin.

Prince Dāūd Shāh, Shāhji, Aurangzeb, and Murād were all sterling brothers. Their ages were respectively 43, 41, 36, and 38

years, at the time of this fateful struggle. The eldest seemed to be the father's favourite, and would have normally succeeded to the throne. Though he spent most of his time at the Capital with Shihjia Jehin, he was nominally the viceroy of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces. Shihjia was governor of Bengal and Orissa; Aurangzeb of the Deccan; and Murad of Gujarat. All four were reputed soldiers, though each of the other three yielded the palm to Aurangzeb in point of steadiness and strength of character, intemperance, and generosity. In religious outlook also, Aurangzeb was as determined to uphold orthodox Sunni Islam as his brothers were either latitudinarian or simply-casual. Durrā was eclectic like Akbar, Shihjia was Shia, and Murad, at least for political purposes, a hater of heretics. Hence the first combination of the younger two against the elder<sup>1</sup>; once the discomfiture of the former was achieved the latter were quits. Aurangzeb had the same axe for all, though Durrā was executed to all appearances, on a charge of heresy and Murad on a charge of murder. Shihjia escaped beyond the north-eastern frontier only to be done to death by the Afghans. Durrā's son, Salajman Shikoh, was not treated more cordially than Aurangzeb's own son, Mubarrac Shah, for crimes which were not dissimilar in the eyes of the fanatical Aurangzeb: the former had fought for his father, and the latter for his father-in-law (and uncle) Shajja, who were equally heretical and therefore equally hateful,—both were imprisoned and then 'sent to hell.' But in spite of all this Aurangzeb was not a blood-thirsty fiend: as Smith writes, Aurangzeb, while not shrinking from any severity deemed necessary to secure his throne, had no taste for indiscriminate, superfluous

1. Cf. Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-26. "Mr. Aspin, the author of *Zafar-nama*, says that after the failure of the first Christianized campaign, Shajja and Aurangzeb, on their way to their respective provinces, arrived together at Delhi, where they stayed for six days to cement the bond of friendship between them (their common hatred of their eldest brother Durrā). . . . Shajja betrothed his daughter to Salajman Mubarrac and Aurangzeb betrothed his daughter to Zafar-nama. On the receipt of the report of the union between the Emperor, Aurangzeb, Shajja, and Shikoh opened a brisk correspondence between them. To expedite the exchange of letters, relays were established at convenient places between Gujarat and Bengal by way of the Deccan and Orissa. Some of these letters which have survived destruction, and have come down to us, unfold a thrilling story of the plans made by these brothers to overthrow Durrā. It is clear that the advance of Shajja from Bengal, and of Murad and Aurangzeb from the Deccan was according to a preconcerted agreement among them, to which they proceeded to meet near Ajmer, . . . & the speedy attack only one of us, the other two should try to prevent him.

blood-shed; and when he felt his power established beyond danger of dispute by the sons of his brothers, was willing to allow the youth to live.<sup>1</sup> Nay, he went a step further and married his two daughters, the third and the fifth respectively to Shihab Shikoh (younger son of Daul) and Isht Bakhsh (son of Mirza).

'As at a signal, straight the voms prepare  
For open force, and rush to sudden war;  
Meeting like winds broke loose upon the main  
To pass by arms what this it was to reign.'

From the point of view of our study of the Empire no purpose would be served by going into the details of the Patriotic War. When all is said, it only illustrated

the basic weakness of a system that could be set at naught at the mere will of the Emperor; the darker side of the family tradition of the house of Thakur that exalted pelf and power above everything else; and the consummate ability of Aurangzeb in diplomacy and war in contrast with the political impotency of his brothers. The circumstances which led to the disaffection and death of the senior parties may be briefly stated as follows:—

1. When Shihab Jahān fell ill, in September 1657, he formally nominated Daul Shikoh his successor, to avert the possible tragedy of a war of succession.<sup>2</sup>

2. In spite of this, on the 5th December 1657, Mirza proclaimed himself Emperor at Akbarabad, struck coins and had the shahada read in his own name.

3. Shihab did the same at Rajmahal in Bengal, and marched

1. Smith, O. H., p. 412.

2. According to the *Interpretation of the History*, p. 2201, Aurangzeb wrote to Mirza: 'I understand that the influence of the enemy (Daul) in administration, treasury and appointments has attained considerable proportions. He is now trying to collect treasure and an army. . . . We should be very cautious at this time and should not write anything unbecomingly to our letters.' He also wrote to the Emperor (ibid., pp. 222-223): 'You no longer hold the control of political or financial affairs; it is in the hands of a Prince who has usurped it. . . . If he comes across against me, it would be better for him to refer to his right in the Punjab, and leave your service in my hands.'

Sir Munsif, who was in the service of Daul, has a different story from that quoted above: 'Some authors,' he writes, 'according what they have been told, say that Daul seized his father and divested him of his power by force; but I assert this to be a great mistake, for I know, and have tested it, that Daul was quite submissive.' (Perry, p. 412.)



with an army and fleet towards Baramba which he reached on January 24, 1858.

4. Aurangzeb, quick to apprehend the situation, but too shrewd to precipitate matters, proposed to act, not in his own name, but in the interests of Jilani and his younger brother Murid. The Empire was to be saved from the hands of Dada and Shuja; a third of the booty was to be given to Murid together with the Panjabs, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Sindh: the rest to be retained by Aurangzeb himself.

5. Mir Juma who was called to the north, by order of Shah Jahan, was not allowed by Aurangzeb to proceed from the Deccan. He was arrested and his army thus made available for Aurangzeb. Smith says, "The circumstances indicate that probably Mir Juma resigned at his own arrest. Certainly he did not resist it, nor did he fail to continue to give his ally invaluable support when released. . . . Mir Juma's fine park of artillery proved to be extremely useful."<sup>1</sup>

6. At the beginning of February 1658, Aurangzeb too assumed Imperial prerogatives. On 3rd April he crossed the Narmada and joined forces with Murid near Ujjain.

7. On 15 April, 1658, the Imperial army, under Khilan Khila and Balja Jaranant Singh of Jodhpur, was defeated at Dharmat, (14 miles s.w. of Ujjain) by the rebel Prince. Jaranant Singh fled from the battle-field, but his wife would not give him shelter after such rank cowardice!

8. Dada Shikoh then encountered the rebels at Sarangarh (8 miles to the east of Agra fort), on May 28, 1658. A very incident in this well-contested battle, in which the Panjabs 'did honour to the traditions of their name,' turned the tide in favour of Aurangzeb. "The battle (of Sarangarh)", as Smith says, "really decided the war of succession. All the subsequent efforts to restore the crown then lost, whether made by Dada Shikoh himself, by his son Sultanman Shikoh, or by Shuja and Murid Baksh, were in vain. Aurangzeb proved himself to be by far the ablest of the princes in every phase of the contest, which was not ended until two years later, in May 1660, when Shuja met his miserable fate."<sup>2</sup>

1. *O. R.*, p. 473.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

The success of Aurangzeb was largely due to his better equipment and gunnery. Mansur observed that although Dada's army made

9. On 28 June 1658 Aurangzeb took possession of Agra Fort and imprisoned Shah Jahan therein for life.<sup>1</sup> Shah Jahan died there on 22nd January 1666, going for the last time on the tomb of his beloved wife with whom he now has buried.

10. Murad was apprehended on June 26, 1658, and finally imprisoned and executed at Gwalior, in December 1661. A charge of murder was brought against him by the son of Ali Maki who was Murad's one time friend. The Prince was tried and condemned by a *Khilat* 'with all the forms of law.'

11. On July 31, 1659, Aurangzeb had himself crowned, though his formal enthronement was deferred until June 1660.

12. Salimran Shikoh had defeated Shasta at Barchampur (near Benares) in February 1658. Aurangzeb again routed him at Khatwah (Fatepur District), on January 5, 1659. Thence he fled to Arkan where he met with his death in May 1660.

13. Durr was hunted from place to place through Multan, Sindh, Kathiawar and Gujarat. He was betrayed once near Ajmer, by Ismail of Jodhpur. Finally, while he was trying to escape to Persia, he was again betrayed by Malik Juman Khan, the Afghan chief of Dhanuad (near Bolan Pass) on June 9, 1658. The death of his beloved wife Nadira Begum (daughter of Parviz) had much

<sup>1</sup> 'a brave and splendid show,' the greater number of them 'were not very useful: they were bachelors, hussies, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and such-like. It is true that on their horses and with their arms they looked well at a review, but they had no heart, and knew nothing of war.' (Fryer, p. 201). "Durr," he further points out, "had not sufficient experience in matters of war, having been brought up among the dancing women and buffoons of his father, and gave much credit to the words of the traitors" (ibid., p. 201).

1. Memoirs return in touching terms to the sufferings and humiliation of Shah Jahan in his prison life, in which he was, *par-voles*: 'Going there several times,' he says, 'I noted the imprisonment of Shah Jahan was deeper than can be expressed. There passed not a day, while I and others were in conversation with the Governor (Feroz Khan), when there did not come in somebody to whisper into his ear an account of all the words and acts of Shah Jahan, and even what passed among the wives, ladies, and slave girls. Sometimes, enquiring at what the eunuchs told him, he would make the company aware in what was going on inside, adding some sad expressions in disparagement of Shah Jahan. Not content with this even, he sometimes allowed it to be seen that he treated him as a miserable slave. . . . as that, he knew of ill-treatment, the wretched old man might do. . . . I do not know how it was with the others who were present when this was done, but I certainly felt it much. I knew the dignity with which Shah Jahan used when he was free and Emperor of Hindustan; it was doubly and when remembered that Feroz Khan was therefore slave of this same Shah Jahan, for whom he was given to Aurangzeb.' (ibid., pp. 111-121).

distracted Dîrî. 'Death was painted in his eyes.... Everywhere he saw only destruction, and losing his senses became utterly hopeless of his own affairs.' In the words of Khâfi Khân, 'Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dîrî, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium.... At the end of Zi'l Ajja, 1080 (Sept. 1859), the order was given for Dîrî Shâh to be put to death under a legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatised from the law, had vilified religion, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity. After he was slain, his body was placed in a *berceû* and carried round the city (as once before when he was alive). So once alive and once dead he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate. He was buried in the tomb of Huseyn.<sup>1</sup>

Dîrî, Hâ Khânî, was an enlightened and popular Prince-Berier, who was an eye-witness to these tragic happenings, records: 'Everywhere I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dîrî in the most touching language..... from every quarter I heard pining and distressing shrieks,..... men, women, and children weeping as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves.'<sup>2</sup> Several works are attributed to Dîrî Shâh: (1) *Savâ-namâ*, a translation of the 50 *Upâkhaṇḍ*; (2) *Majma'ul-Bihar*, a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu Faiths with Sanskrit equivalents; (3) *Shâhîr* with *Shâh Laf*; (4) *Sikhat-ul-mulûk* containing lines of the Marîfî mîrî; (5) *Khudâ-Lagawaz* and (6) a Persian translation of the *Atisha-vâd*. The charge

1. *Afshâr-i-Jahân*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 244-45.

2. *Tarikh*, II, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Dîrî, as an Berier, 'was not deficient in good qualities: he was courteous, conversation, quick in response, polite, and extremely liberal; but he entertained too exalted an opinion of himself; believed he could accomplish everything by the power of his own mind, and imagined that there existed no man from whom counsel he could derive benefit. He spoke disrespectfully of those who ventured to advise him and thus detoured his allegiant friends from disclosing the secret machinations of his enemies. He was also very irascible; apt to assume; abusive and spending even to the greatest Gurus; but this anger was seldom more than momentary. Born a Muhammadan, he continued to live in the exercises of that religion; but although thus publicly professing his adherence to his faith, Dîrî was in private a Gentile with Gurus and a Christian with Europeans. He had constantly about him some of the *Pandits* or Gentile doctors, on whom he bestowed large pensions. He had, moreover, for some time had a willing ear to the suggestions of the Rev. Fr. Brame, a Jesuit in the truth and propriety of which he began to suspect.'

levelled against him were (a) That he conversed with Brahmins, Yogis, and Sanyasis; (b) that he regarded the Hindu Vedas as revealed literature; (c) that he wore rings and ornaments with the inscription 'Proflis' on them; and (d) that he disregarded the injunctions of Islam regarding the observance of the fast of *Ramada*, etc.

## VI. GOLDEN AGE OF THE EMPIRE

The Empire, for which the brothers fought so furiously, was yet to grow to its fullest extent in the next reign; but it is certain that it was never more prosperous than during the thirty years (1627-57) of Shah Jahan's rule. In spite of the early rebellions, which were soon crushed; in spite of the foreign wars of aggression beyond the frontier, which cost exorbitantly with no return what-so-ever; in spite of the famines in the Deccan and Gujarat, which devastated a vast portion of the country; and in spite of the constant fighting in the Deccan, which, while it resulted in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bijapur, also involved a great drain in the resources of the Empire, the age of Shah Jahan shined much that was glorious, and many an unmistakable sign of unique prosperity, to justify this period being described as the Golden Age of the Empire.

Raj Ratan Misra, in his *Lakshat-Samudra*, records with admiration: 'The means employed by the King

Prosperity.

(Shah Jahan) in these happy times to protect and nourish his people, his knowledge of what made for welfare, his administration by honest and intelligent officers, the suckling of warhorses, his care of the crown-lands and their tenants, and encouragement of agriculture and the collection of revenue, together with his punishment and admonition of evil doers, briggians and rascals, all tended to the prosperity of the Empire. The parganas which had brought in three lacs in Akbar's reign now yielded ten, though some fell short, and those who increased the revenue by careful agriculture were rewarded, and vice versa. The expenditure of former reigns was not a fourth of the cost of this reign, and yet the King quickly amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessors.'

1. Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 129.

According to Mordant (*The Agrarian System of Modern India*, p. 120), "Under Akbar the rapidly increasing Imperial expenditure was

European critics, partly judging by modern standards, and partly reluctant to acknowledge that India was ever more prosperous than in her own times, are rather chary to admit the truth of the above description, except gradually and with qualifications. Thus we come across statements like the following: "The reign of Shah Jahan, which covers nearly fifty years, from 1627 to 1658, is usually regarded as the golden period of Mughal rule. It was certainly a period of great prosperity. Foreign wars were few and unimportant; at home there was peace and apparent plenty, and the royal treasury seemed full to overflowing. Yet despite the vast treasure which Shah Jahan had inherited from his father and grandfather; despite the growth of a large trade between Indian and western Asia, which was rendered possible by the existence of a strong Government in Persia; despite the establishment of the export trade with Europe, which certainly brought some profit to the Mughal Empire; and in spite of other apparent advantages, the reign of Shah Jahan counted the death of the Empire and of its economic system." The writer further elaborates: "To meet the expenditure of Shah Jahan's extravagant bureaucracy and to pay for the splendid architectural monuments, which alone would render his reign unreasonable, an insupportable burden was laid upon the agricultural and industrial masses, upon whom the very life of the Empire ultimately depended. There was exaggerated the national leechery which, becoming more marked during the reign of his successor, proved one of the most potent factors in the subsequent disintegration of the great organisation which he inherited from Akbar and Jahangir."<sup>1</sup>

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more than covered by the growth of the Empire, and reserves in cash were accumulated. Jahangir neglected the administration, and..... the annual income from the Muzawar tracts fell to 50 lakhs of rupees, while the normal expenditure was 120 lakhs, and the accumulated treasure was drawn on his huge sums. Shahjahan on his accession put the Deccan on a sound basis: he recovered courts calculated to yield 120 lakhs, an income, fixed the normal expenditure at 120 lakhs, and had thus a large reserve balance for emergency. Expenditure rose far above this limit but careful administration raised the normal income to 220 lakhs [the Akbar plate in *Mahab-ul-Umra*] by 1627, and to nearly 400 lakhs by the end of the reign. Antagonists at first aimed to equalise the balance between income and expenditure, but his long wars in the Deccan were ruinous, and at his death only 10 or 12 lakhs of rupees were left in the treasury, a sum which was rapidly dissipated by his successors."

1. Edwards and Garnet, op. cit., p. 96. (Dutt's edn.)

A more deftful plan of subtle disparagement, which looks like impartial appreciation, is difficult to find. We do not seek to underestimate the crimes and shortcomings of Shah Jahan's reign; but it is necessary to admit the undoubted prosperity of his reign: however short a period without ridding up with it matters of an enormous nature. Dismissal of 'extravagant extravaganzas' and 'insupportable burdens laid upon the agricultural and industrial classes,' as well as the 'engendering of national inefficiency,' would lend us its controversies far beyond the scope of this work; but it is certainly not permissible to father the sins of his successors upon Shah Jahan. In the first place the splendid 'extravagance' of Shah Jahan was never initiated by his parasitical successor Aurangzeb;<sup>1</sup> on the contrary, the stimulus for the agriculturists, from whatever motive, was continued by Aurangzeb; and lastly, the springs of Aurangzeb's actions are not to be traced to the initiative of his father whom he hated, imprisoned, and superseded. The complexity of issues that brought about 'the disintegration of the great organisation' of the Mughal Empire will be discussed in the proper place.

To cite another example of the undue severity of biased criticism, Vincent Smith observes: "Shah Jahan has received from most modern historians, and especially from Elphinstone, treatment *unduly favourable*. The magnificence of his court, the art and wealth of his empire, the comparative peace which was preserved during his reign, and the unique beauty of his architectural masterpiece, the Taj, have combined to darken the vision of his modern biographers, most of whom have altered over his many crimes and exaggerated such virtues as he possessed."<sup>2</sup> In his zeal to correct this 'unduly favourable' picture of Shah Jahan, Smith has overdone the task, and 'dished over his many' virtues and 'exaggerated such' crimes as he was guilty of. Apart from Shah Jahan's personal failings as a son, as a brother, as a father, and finally as a widower, "In affairs of state," says Smith, "he was cruel, treacherous, and unscrupulous": though he does not fail to add "perhaps not worse than most other kings of his time, but certainly not better." Then, "He had little skill as a military leader," the

1. "The palace Aurangzeb owed for none of these things..... probably speaking, the splendour of Aurangzeb's court was unimpaired to the end." (Smith, O. H., p. 419).

2. O. H., p. 418. (Italics mine.)

organisation and command of his army was inefficient. "Shah Jahan's 'junker' was merely the average, unrefined severity of the ordinary Asiatic despot, enriched without respect of persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion." (Shahin of Churton I and Louis XIV bear witness!) Peter Mundy and "Other travellers bear similar testimony to the misgovernment of the country." Danvers, "a highly trained observer," who was "deeply interested in a effort to what he saw," and "free from personal bias for or against either Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb," is one that "cannot be brushed aside" as "a hostile European witness." "He speaks of the actual state of the country at the most brilliant period of Mogul rule, when the dynasty was fully established, rich beyond compare, and undisturbed by foreign aggression." His "pessimistic observations" and "gloomy impressions" regarding "the upper provinces" are then faithfully cited: "Thus do ruin and desolation overgrew the land" (Denier's *France*, p. 281.) "Similar ruin and tyranny had been the fate of the Deccan during the years from 1644 to 1653, in the interval between the first and second vicereignty of Aurangzeb," when a great famine devastated the Deccan and Gujarat. "The prodigal expenditure and unexampled splendour of the court which occupy so prominent a place in most of the current descriptions of Shah Jahan's rule had therefore a dark background of suffering and misery seldom referred to now." Then follow "a few phrases of painted richness" from the pen of "the official historian, Abdul Hamid," who "contrary to the frequent practice of writers of his kind, makes no attempt to disguise the horror of the calamity."

Yet Smith denies the 'gracious kindness and honesty' of Shah Jahan described by the same writer; for, "So far as Mundy saw, ~~nothing~~ the suffering people was done by the government; though "Mountain, the camp of Shah Jahan at Faridkot was filled with provisions of all kinds." Of course "No statistics are on record"; but we are not without imagination! Though "Even the nature of the consequent pestilence is not mentioned." "It is almost certain that cholera must have carried off myriads of victims." For, "Sir Richard Temple, the editor of Mundy's work, has good reason for saying that "it is worthwhile to read Mundy's unimpeached, matter of fact observations on this famine," in order to realise the *immensity* of the difference in the conditions of life as existing under the rule of the Mogul dynasty when at its height of

its glory and thus prevailing under the modern British government.”

Nevertheless, Elphinstone is perfectly right when he describes

Other side of the Age of Shah Jahan as “the most prosperous Period: ... was not known in India, ... together with a larger share of good government than often falls to the lot of Asiatic nations. Notwithstanding Shah Jahan’s love of ease and pleasure ... he never relaxed his vigilance over his internal government; and by this, and the judicious choice of his ministers, he prevented any relaxation in the system, and even introduced important improvements—such as his survey of the Deccan.”

J. O. W., pp. 415-18, 395-96.

His ministers were men of the highest ability. Sad-Alah Khan, a converted Hindu, was the most capable statesman of his age; and Ali Murad and Asaf Khan were men of approved integrity and energy. (Lane-Poole, *Aurangzeb*, p. 165.)

The improvement of the administration in the Deccan was the work of Aurangzeb and Murad Qut Khan. The former at that time was Viceroy in the Deccan. The latter was a native of Khurasan who had come to India in the train of Ali Murad Khan, the former Governor of Kandahar, who had come over to the Mughal side. He is said to have combined in himself the talents of a soldier with the administrative capacity of a civil servant.

The maladministration of predecessors had considerably retarded the industry and revenue. “At this time the civil and military expenditure of the Deccan, exclusive of the salary defined by the officers from their rights, produced an annual deficit of Rs. 1,00,000, which was made good by drawing the treasures stored in the treasuries of the Deccan. .... When appointing him to the Deccan, Shah Jahan had upon Aurangzeb a special reliance in his improvement of the peasantry and the extension of cultivation. Aurangzeb had promised to do his best for these objects. .... The new sultan’s reform consisted in extending Tudor Henry’s system to the Deccan. First he worked hard to gather the scattered ryots together and restore the normal life of the villages by giving them their full population and proper class of officers. Everywhere the same and honest corruption were exposed to regulate the land, to prepare the record of well marked out holdings (pattas), and to distinguish arable land from rocky soils and water-courses. ~~When~~ a village had lost its husband (husband) he took care to appoint a ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup> man from the persons whose character gave the best promise of their readiness to promote cultivation and take sympathetic part of the community. The poorer ryots were granted loans (dastak) from the public treasury, for the purchase of tools, seeds and other useful materials of agriculture, and the advance was recovered at harvest by instalments.”

His second reform was to adapt the system to the varying needs of each locality. Finally, “The revenue at the fixed rate of so many Rs. per bigha was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed-time to harvest and its market price, and strictly assessing the same area. This because the prevalent system in the whole of Mughal Deccan and was known for centuries afterwards as the share of Murad Qut Khan. His excellent system, backed by his constant vigilance and personal supervision, led to the improvement of agriculture and increase of the revenue in a few years.” (Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 36-37)



"*Shah Jahan*, the best historian of those times, gives his opinion, that, although Akbar was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a legislator, yet for the order and arrangement of his territory and *domains* and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shah Jahan....

"Mundelein describes Agra as at least twice as large as Isfahan (then in its greatest glory), with fine streets, good shops, and numerous baths and caravanserais. Nor was this prosperity confined to royal residences: all travellers speak with admiration of the grandeur of the cities, even in remote provinces, and of the fertile and productive countries in which they stood.

"Those who look on India in its present state may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity; but the deserted sites, ruined palaces, and choked-up aqueducts which we will see, with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the decayed cross-ways, walls, and cornucopials of the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary travellers in convincing us that those historians had good grounds for their commendation. ...

"*Shah Jahan* was the most magnificent prince that ever appeared in India. His retinue, his state establishments, his largeness and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond what they had attained to under his predecessor.<sup>1</sup> His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact, that they rather occasioned any increase to his emotions, nor any embarrassment to his finances. ...

"Misunderstanding the miserable character given to him in his *private* life, the official conduct of Shah Jahan seems to have been blameless when on the throne.<sup>2</sup> His treatment of his people was benevolent and paternal, and his liberal sentiments towards those around him cannot be better shown than by the confidence which

1. "The popular view that the life of a Mughal Emperor was an increasing round of pleasure, indolence, sport and amusements, is refuted by the very minute details of his (Shah Jahan's) daily routine, which we can trace in contemporary Persian histories. This routine was strictly defined in, whether the Emperor was in camp or at the capital. And there is overwhelming evidence to prove that Shah Jahan led a strenuous life, and divided his time evenly between government and sport." (Mundelein, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Barker, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 1-181).

(and he must have been prince) he so generously repaid in his sons.<sup>7</sup>

This certainly does not seem an overdrawn or 'unduly favourable picture considering the almost unanimous verdict of unbiased observers, and in the clear light of facts. "Jahangir who had repeatedly visited most parts of India, says that Shah Jahan 'reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children'; and goes on to commend the strictures of his civil Government, and speaks in high terms of the security enjoyed under it. . . . Pietro Della Valle, who wrote in the last years of Jahangir (1623), when things were in a worse state than under his son, gives the following account :—" Hence, generally, all live much after a quiet way : and they do it securely as well, because the King does not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of anything when he sees them disaffectedly, and with the appearance of riches (as is often done in other Mahometan countries)."<sup>8</sup>

Even Barrow, where " gloomy impressions " are emphasized by Vincent Smith,<sup>9</sup> writes of the prosperity of Bengal under Shah Jahan in the following terms :—

" *Bengal abounds with every necessary of life ; and it is this abundance that has induced so many Portuguese, Hallanders, and other Christians, taken from their different settlements by the Dutch, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom. The female and Augustine, who have large churches and are permitted the free and unobscured exercise of their religion, assured me that Orissa (Haghi) alone contains from eight to nine thousand Christians, and that in other parts of the kingdom their number exceeded five-and-twenty thousand. The rich abundance of the Country, together with the beauty and amiable disposition of the native women, has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, that the Kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure.*

" *In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great*

<sup>7</sup> *Wahneema*, op. cit., pp. 400-401.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400 n.

<sup>9</sup> *O. B.*, p. 418. Smith himself does not fall in unreservedly :—" Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of Shahjahan as the influence of his administration, it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the climax of the Mogul dynasty and empire."—*Ibid.*, pp. 418-19.

a variety is found. Besides the sugar, . . . there is in Bengale such quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common ware-house for these two kinds of Maryland, not of Hindostan or the Empire of the Great Mogul only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have seen sometimes amassed at the best quantity of various cloths of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silk and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to estimate the quantity drawn every year from Bengale for the supply of the whole of the Mogul Empire, as far as Lahore and Cabul (Kabul), and generally of all these foreign nations to which the Cottons are sent . . . The Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Feroze-Shahr where, in the manner, the English and other merchants employ a proportionate number.

Bengale is also the principal emporium for catapaws. It is carried down the Ganges with great facility, and the Dutch and English send large cargoes to many parts of the Indies, and to Europe.

Lastly, it is from this fruitful kingdom, that the best lac, opium, resin, clove, long pepper and various drugs are obtained; and latter, which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numerous places.<sup>2</sup>

Maurois has recorded that, when his patron Bellement (who was the exiled Charles II's ambassador to the Mogul Court) died, two English impostors, pretending to be Imperial officers, wanted to appropriate to themselves all the effects and belongings of that stranger in the Empire. When Shih Jabin came to know of this, he ordered all the property to be restored to the rightful assignee of the dead envoy with the exception of an Arab horse which he kept for himself, giving an order to pay to the said Jabin (Yung) one thousand talens (Rs. 2,000), the price at which it had been valued. He took nothing else but the latter which was destined for

2. *France*, pp. 458-62.

king.<sup>1</sup> This unique conduct even towards an unknown stranger in the land but illustrates the Emperor's sense of fairness and justice towards all people. Dandekar has also observed that "in Hindustan every acre of land is considered the property of the king, and the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the King's domain."<sup>2</sup> In the light of these statements of disinterested Europeans, Rai Bhāra Mafa's eulogy regarding Shāh Jahan's administration of justice is not difficult to understand: Says he,

"Notwithstanding the great area of this country, plaints were so few that only one day in the week, viz., Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice; and it was rarely even then that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number generally being much less. The writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion, when honoured with an audience of the King, heard His Majesty decide the disputes at the Court that although so many confidential persons had been appointed to hear plaintiffs, and a day of the week was set apart exclusively with the view of dispensing justice, yet even the small number of twenty plaintiffs could but very seldom be brought into Court ... In short, it was owing to the great solicitude entered by the King towards the promotion of the national weal and the general tranquillity, that the people were restrained from committing offences against one another and troubling the public peace. But if offenders were discovered, the local authorities used generally to try them on the spot (where the offence had been committed) according to law, and in concurrence with the law officers; and if any individual, dissatisfied with the decision passed on his case, appealed to the governor or diwan, or to the khal of the suba, the matter was reviewed, and judgment was awarded with great care and discrimination but it should be mentioned in the presence of the King that justice had not been done. If parties were not satisfied even with these decisions, they appealed to the chief diwan, or to the chief khal on matters of law. These officers instituted further inquiries, with all this care, what case, except those relating to blood and religion, could become subjects of reference to His Majesty?"

Morland has indeed pointed out that the reign of ~~Shāh Jahan~~ was "a period of unparalleled tranquillity," though the condition of the peasants became worse towards the beginning of the next reign.<sup>3</sup> This prosperity under Shāh Jahan was largely due to his "careful administration," which raised the income of the State beyond all

1. *A Peep at Mughal India*, p. 47.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

3. *Latter Part of the History of India*, E. & D., 4th ed., VII pp. 175-76.

4. *Morland*, op. cit., p. 121.

precedents.<sup>1</sup> The testimony of Rāi Bihār Mīa, already cited in confirmation of this, is sought to be disparaged by some on the ground that the actual orders of Shah Jahan on matters therein referred to are not traceable. Manshad is certainly not correct in describing the author of the *Lataif-i-Fasihān* as "a later writer"; for the Rāi himself speaks of "the writer of this historical sketch no more than one occasion," being "honoured with an audience of the King (Shah Jahan)."<sup>2</sup> His account, we repeat, unmistakably points to the efficiency, benevolence, and undoubted prosperity of Shah Jahan's Empire.<sup>3</sup>

It is not possible here to make an accurate estimate of the extent of this prosperity.<sup>4</sup> We, therefore, give below only a few of its visible indications, from which readers might draw their own conclusions :—

1. In 1647, Shah Jahan sent, as a thank-offering, a jewelled candle-stick 'to the sacred tomb of the Prophet (on whom be the greatest honours and blessings), an account of which is here given ..... Having selected out of the number candle-sticks that he had amongst his private property the largest of them all, which weighed 700 rahi, and was worth 10,000 rupees, he commanded that it should be covered with a network of gold, ornamented on all sides with flowers and studded with gems, among which the valuable diamonds should be included. In short, that incomparable candle-stick cost two lacs and 30,000 rupees, of which one lac and 50,000 was the price of the diamond, and the remaining for the work of all the gems and gold, together with the original candle-stick. Mir Sayyid Ahmad Said Bahadur, who had soon before received charitable presents to the two sacred cities, was then deputed to take charge of this precious offering; and an edict was promulgated to the effect, that the revenue collectors of the province of Gujarat should purchase a lac and 50,000 rupees' worth of goods for the sacred Shah, and deliver it over to him, so that he might take it along with him from thence. One of this, he was directed to present 30,000 rupees' worth to the tomb of Blesha; to sell 50,000 rupees' worth, and distribute the proceeds, together with any profits that might accrue, amongst the indigent of that sacred city; and the remaining 50,000, in like manner, amongst those of the glorious Medina. The above named Sayyid, who

1. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 130; E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 171-172.

3. Cf. *Sarkar*, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

4. The diamond in question was got from Golconda as part of its tribute, and weighed in its rough state 180 rahi: "after His Majesty's own lapidaries had cut away all such of the stone surface as was requisite to disclose all its beauties there remained a pure gem of 180 rahi weight, valued by the lapidaries at one lac and 50,000 rupees" (*Shah Jahan-nama of Inayat Khan*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 341).

was in receipt of only a daily stipend, was promoted to a noble rank, and having been suitably presented with a share of honour and a donation of 12,000 rupees, received his dismissal.<sup>1</sup>

2. 'Notwithstanding the considerable increase in the expenses of the State during this reign, grants for the erection of public edifices and other works in progress, and for the paid military service and establishments, such as those maintained in Delhi, Dakhnabad, and Kandahar, amounted, at the close of the reign only, to fourteen lakhs of rupees, and the advances made on account of soldiers only were five lakhs and fifty lacs of rupees. From this single instance of expenditure, an idea may be formed as to what the department have been under stress.'<sup>2</sup>

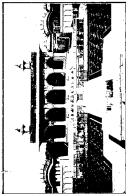
3. 'In the course of years many valuable gems had come into the Imperial jewel-house, each one of which might serve as an set-drag for Ponce, or would adorn the girdle of the Sun. Upon the occasion of the Emperor's, it occurred to his mind that, in the opinion of hereditary sages, the acquisition of such rare jewels and the keeping of such wonderful brilliants can only render one service, that of adorning the throne of empire. They ought, therefore, to be put to such a use, that benefactors might share in and benefit by their splendour, and that Majesty might shine with increased brilliancy. It was accordingly ordered that, in addition to the jewels in the Imperial jewel-house, rubies, garnets, diamonds, rich pearls and emeralds, to the value of 300 lacs of rupees, should be brought for the inspection of the Emperor, and that they, with some exquisite jewels of great weight, exceeding 50,000 miskals in weight and fourteen lakhs of rupees, having been carefully selected, should be handed over to the khalid khān, the superintendent of the goldsmith's department. There was also to be given to him one lac of tolas of pure gold, equal to 100,000 miskals in weight and fourteen lakhs of rupees in value. The throne (which was ordered to be constructed) was to be three gus in length, two and a half in breadth, and five in height, and was to be set with the above-mentioned jewels. The outside of the canopy was to be of enamel work with scrolling grass, the inside was to be thickly set with rubies, garnets and other jewels, and it was to be supported by twelve enamel columns. On the top of each pillar there was to be two terraces (thick with gems and having each two terraces a tow set with rubies and diamonds, emeralds and ~~pearls~~ ~~precious stones~~) must was to consist of three steps set with jewels of fine water. The throne was completed in the course of seven years at a cost of 100 lacs of rupees.'<sup>3</sup>

4. 'The following is an exact account of the building of the splendid lot in the stone-walled metropolis (Shah-jahanabad), with its edifice resembling Paradise, which was constructed in the northern of the city of Delhi, on the banks of the river Jumna. It first occurred to the emul-khan that he should select on the banks of the stream a spot

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-5.

2. *Asiatic Researches*, I. & D. pp. 46, VII, p. 171.

3. *Asiatic Researches*, op. cit., pp. 45-6.



INSIDE PORT, AGRA





pleasant site, distinguished by its good climate, where he might lead a secluded life and discharge duties, according to the principles of his generous heart, through which streams of water should be made to flow, and the terraces of which should overlook the river. Then, after a long search, a plot of ground outside the city of Delhi, lying between the most distant suburbs and Mughals, commonly called Bahadurgate, was chosen upon for this purpose, by the royal command, on the night of Friday, the 24th Zi'l-hijja, in the twelfth year of his auspicious reign, corresponding to 1646 A.D., being the time appointed by the astrologers, the foundations were marked out with the usual ceremonies according to the plan devised in the imperial presence. Active labours were then employed in digging the foundations, and on the night of Friday, the 8th of Ashwin, of the year coinciding with 1649 A.D. (1638 A.D.), the foundation stone of this noble structure was laid. Throughout the imperial dominions, wherever artificers could be found, whether plain stone-cutters, monumental sculptors, masons, or carpenters, by the immediate working of implicit influence, they were all collected together, and multitudes of numerous labourers were employed in the work. It was ultimately completed on the 24th of Rab'ul-mawal, in the twenty-first year of his reign, corresponding to 1688 A.D., at an outlay of 90 lacs of rupees, after taking nine years, three months, and some days in building.<sup>1</sup>

5. The Taj Mahal, by common consent the most admired monument in the world, containing the remains of Mumtaz Mahal, Shah Jahan's beloved queen who died on Thursday, 16th June, 1657 (17 24 Rabi, 1045 A.D.) at Bahadurgate, was built on a plot purchased from Mirza Jai Singh (grandson of Mirza Raja Singh) near the city, at a cost of 9 lacs and 17 thousands of rupees,<sup>2</sup> according to the *Shah-Jahan-nama*. It was begun early in 1652 and completed in January 1661, under the supervision of Mumtaz Mahal and Mir Abdul Karim. The *Shah-Jahan-nama* also names the following artisans employed in its construction:—"Amiruz Khatun Shikhat, writer of Taghree inscriptions, from Quaidpur; Master Isa Khatun, mason, a student of Agra; Master Piro, carpenter, a resident at Delhi; Bazarbar, Jhar Khat, and Barwanat, sculptors, from Delhi; Ismail Khatun Buzul, master of the dome and the scaffolding supporting it; and Mirza-Mah Khatun, gardener." It also gives a list of lovely varieties of precious stones set in the Taj, got from "Quaidpur", Gwalior, "the upper world", Mirz, Buzul and Omeas, Jadhgar, Kunawar, Mafuram, Bazar, Yaman, Atlantic Ocean, Ghorband, Gerdah, Naba Badshan, Mount Sinai, Gerdah, Persia, and Amman.<sup>3</sup>

Bar. H. Hume following the wake of V. A. Smith tried to make out a case for the Italian Giovanni Veronesi, as the architect of the Taj, on the testimony of two contemporary Jewish Fathers, Matri-

<sup>1</sup> *Taj Mahal-nama*, pp. 63, pp. 354.

<sup>2</sup> *Only 80 lacs according to other estimates, see Sachar, Jahan in Mughal India*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

que and De Castro. Venezo was a Venetian jeweller who died at Lahore on 2nd August, 1640. Father Manrique appears to have got the information from De Castro (then Rector of the Jesuit College, Agra) who administered the last unction to Venezo at the time of his death. His statement is as follows :—

"The architect of these works was a Venetian, by name Cornelio Venezo, who had come to this part in a Portuguese ship and died in the city of Lahr (Lahore) just before I reached it.

"The Emperor Camrudo (Shirvan) paid him a very high salary.... Hence, the swift converse of good and evil news, had spread the story that the Emperor summoned him and informed him that he desired to erect a great sumptuous tomb to his dead wife, and he was required to draw up some designs for this, for the Emperor's inspection.

"The architect Venezo carried out this order, and within a few days proved the great skill he had in this art by producing several models of the most beautiful architecture. He showed this ruler in respect of the designs, but, in his barbaric pride and arrogance, His Majesty was displeased with him owing to his low estimate, and it is said that, becoming angry, he told Venezo to spend 2 crores of rupees, that is Rs. 200 lakhs, and to inform him when it was expended. This is as large a sum as to construct one. It, however, as they used to say, the tomb had to be covered with gold plates, as had been done with the funeral urn which already held the remains of the Agwanee Ragnya, with heavy expenditure was not surprising."

Stewart, in his *Excavations and Excavations*,<sup>1</sup> suggests the name of another European architect, viz., the French engineer, Austin de Bourdon, whom he tries to identify with Ustad Isa Khan!

These views are contradicted by Sir John Marshall<sup>2</sup> and E. B. Havell<sup>3</sup> on grounds of fairly historical evidence and internal proofs of style.

Mr. Arthur U. Pope, more trenchantly declares: "The myth that the Taj Mahal was built by an Italian now belongs to the realm of bed-time stories."<sup>4</sup>

6. An idea of the wealth accumulated by the nobility may be had from the following account of Asaf Khan's property at the time of his death in 1646 A. D. It is, of course, not to be forgotten

1. Cf. *Smith, History of Fine Arts*, etc., pp. 352-53; 435-38.

2. *Excavations and Excavations*, I, p. 388.

3. *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1884-85), pp. 1-2.

4. *Indian Architecture*, pp. 25-6.

5. For a note of the controversy see *The Economist*, No. 71 pp. 130-35 (Sunday, 13th March, 1933); also *Muslim-India Abroad*, The Taj and its Excavations, pp. 16-22 (2nd ed., Agra, 1934).



NEW FIELD HOUSE



that Ashi Jishi held a unique position in the Empire, by the virtue of his relationship with the Emperor. The *Nishikisho* also states :

"He had risen to a rank and dignity which no servant of the state had ever before obtained. By the magnificent favour of the Emperor, his reward was nine thousand personal and nine thousand lower, altogether ten thousand, the pay of which amounted to sixteen *ken* and twenty *tan* of *dan*. When these had all received their pay, a sum of fifty *tan* of *repa* was left for Minamoto..... Besides the *repa* which he had built in Lakou, and on which he expended twenty *tan* of *repa*, he left money and valuables to the amount of two *ken* and fifty *tan* of *repa*. There were 30 *tan* of *repa* in *juwa*, three *tan* of *shiraga* equal to 12 *tan* of *repa*, one *tan* and 22 *tan* in *repa*, 30 *tan* in gold and silver vessels, and 22 *tan* in miscellaneous articles.<sup>1</sup>

This vast wealth, though to all appearances concentrated in the hands of the Emperor and the nobility, and spent in war and luxury, could not have been extracted from an indigent peasantry. The only revolts under Shih Jishi were not reactions to the alleged oppression of the rulers, whether central or local, but the expression of the normal ambitions of medieval nobility. The only exception to this was the intransigent conduct of the Portuguese at Nagai, whose opposition and resistance drew upon themselves the might of Imperial arms. Minamoto has more than once observed how he sought fortune and security within the Empire, while he met with misery and risk to life in the European settlements. In one place he remarks, "Kou Antonio Portugal was incensed at this affair (a just award of money due to Minamoto, by an impartial tribunal), and, in place of being sorry, sought means to take my life. If he did not succeed, it was because I did not remain in Goa, but returned to the Mogul Prince's service."<sup>2</sup> "The follow," he writes about the Portuguese, "glory in cheating foreigners without scruple."<sup>3</sup> He found less personal liberty, to do even humanitarian work for the poor and indigent, in Portuguese than in Mogul India.<sup>4</sup>

Conditions, no doubt, were more unattractive in medieval times than now all the world over, and colonies or roads were not infrequent. But Shih Jishi did all in his power to make travelling within the Empire as safe as could be. One of the means he adopted

1. *E. & G.*, op. cit., pp. 205-6.

2. *A. Fajon of Mogul India*, pp. 220-21.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 22; see also pp. 154-55 and 220-21 for various other instances of oppression suffered by Minamoto.

was to provide caravanserais with proper equipments. 'For the use of wayfarers,' writes Manucci, 'there are throughout the realm of the Mogul an every route many caravai. They are like fortified places with their bastions and strong gates; most of them are built of stone or of brick. In every one is an official whose duty it is to close the gates at the going down of the sun. After he has done the gates he calls out that everyone must look after his belongings, pinet his horses by their fore and hind legs, above all that he must look out for dogs, for the dogs of Hindustan are very cunning and great thieves!

'At 6 o'clock in the morning, before opening the gates, the watchman gives three warnings to the travellers, crying in a loud voice that everyone must look after his own things. After these warnings, if any one suspects that any of his property is missing, the doors are not opened until the lost thing is found. By this means they make sure of having the thief, and he is stung up opposite the thief. Thus the thieves when they hear a complaint do make drop the goods somewhere, so as not to be discovered.

'These caravai are only intended for travellers (soldiers do not go into them). Each one of them might hold, more or less, from 200 to 1,000 persons with their horses, camels, carriages, and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls, verandahs, with trees inside the courtyard, and many provision shops, also separate sheds for the women and men who arrange the rooms and the beds for the travellers.'

The measures taken by Shah Jahan for the relief of the famine-stricken in the earlier part of his reign, when

Faris Fakhri. His treasury was not so full as later, are worthy of note. Writes Lalori: 'The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials to Burhānpur, Ahamadabad, and the country of Surat, to establish soup kitchens, or almshouses, such as are called *knipra* in the language of Hindustan, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhānpur 5,000 *rupai* should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne. Thus, on twenty Mondays are let of *rupai*

was given away in charity. Ahmadabad had suffered more than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 rupees among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and decrease of grain had caused distress in many other countries (districts). So under the directions of the wise and generous Emperor lesser amounts to nearly 70 lacs of rupees were sent by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eight lacs of duns, amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held *khajir* and *mansab*.<sup>1</sup>

Similar measures were adopted for relief of distressed peasantry in Kashmir (1641) and the Punjab (1641) when there was famine on account of heavy rainfall. On the former occasion 50,000 people appealed to Shih Jahan for relief and he distributed among them Rs. 1,00,000, besides the provision of Rs. 200 worth of cooked food daily; and at the same time sent Rs. 30,000 to Turbat Khan for further relief measures, and ordered the opening of five kitchens for the distribution of soup and bread in Kashmir. This officer having failed to manage the situation well, he was replaced by Zahir Khan, who was given a further grant of Rs. 20,000. In the Punjab, likewise, ten kitchens were opened and Sayid Jahan was commissioned to distribute Rs. 10,000 among the poor and destitute. "Sold children were ransomed by the Government, and restored to their parents. In February 1647 Shih Jahan sanctioned another thirty thousand rupees for relief measures in the Punjab."<sup>2</sup>

In the face of this, Vincent Smith declares, while the people were dying of starvation "the camp of Shih Jahan at Burhanpur was filled with provisions of all kinds," and "so far as money was, nothing to help the suffering people was done by the Government." With regard to the remission of taxes, alone referred to, Smith disagrees then with the invidious observation that "The facts do not justify the historians' praise of the 'gracious liberality and bounty' of Shih Jahan. The remission of one-eleventh of the land revenue implies that attempts were made to collect both elevenths, a burden which could not be borne by a country reduced to 'the dire extremity,' and exhibiting no trace of productivity."<sup>3</sup>

1. E. & D. no. 41, no. 24-5.  
2. *Samana*, op. cit. no. 260-69.  
3. *ib. id.*, p. 264.

At least two instances of the construction of canals to improve agricultural property are on record. The *Bahadur-nama* states:

- (1): 'All Sharif Khân represented to His Majesty that one of his pleasures was an adobe in the forming of canals, and would undertake to construct a canal from the palace where the river Shal descends from the hills into the plains, and to conduct the waters to Lahore, benefiting the cultivation of the country through which it should pass. The Emperor..... gave to the Khân one lac of rupees, a sum of which expenses defrayed the expense, and the Khân then activated its formation to one of his trusted servants.' The canal even to this day bears witness.
- (2): 'The canal that Sirhan River Shal Khân, during the time he reigned at Delhi, had made to branch off from the river Jamna, in the vicinity of Jangana Khirkhâd, whence he brought it in a channel 50 Imperial feet long to the eastern of Jangana Sahâra, which was its watering-place, and had only a scanty supply of water, had after the Shâh's death, become in the course of time ruinous. While Shâh-Jahân the Second, Khân held the Government of Delhi, during the reign of Emperor Akbar, he put it in repair and set it flowing again, with a view to benefit the plains in his reign, and hence it was called Nahr-i-Shâh; but for want of repairs, however, it again stopped flowing. At the time when the "Gul-i-Shah-Jahânshâhi" was commenced, it was recommended that the aforesaid canal from Khirkhâd to Sahâra should be repaired and a new channel excavated from the latter spot to the royal residence, which also is a distance of 50 Imperial feet. After it was thus prolonged, it was designated the Nahr-i-Shâh.'<sup>1</sup>

A further illustration of Shâh Jahân's benevolent intentions towards the peasantry is afforded by the same writer in the following statement:

- 'As it was represented that during the progress of the victorious forays towards Kandahar (in 1649 A.D.) a great deal of the cultivation of Ghazni and its dependencies had been broken under foot by the army, the martial monarch, the character of his people, despatched the son of 2000 good *shikrâs*, in charge of a trusty individual, with *chiraghân* or *bagh* into the lands devastated by the agriculturalists, and to distribute it among them accordingly.'<sup>2</sup>

This account of the Golden Age of the Moghul Empire cannot be closed without at least a brief reference to the cultivation of the arts. The construction of the Peacock Throne and the building of the Taj Mahal, both of which took years to execute and gave employ-

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 47-8 and 50.

2. Ibid., p. 50.

The Architecture of Akbar and Shah Jahân—a comparative study," *Muslatat-i-Chin*, I, C., IV, 1, July 1920, pp. 215-226.



sent to the finest workmen from all parts of the country, are but the best known of numerous works of art produced in this epoch. We have not the space to dwell at length on all phases of the cultural life under Shah Jahan; but as Dr. Salomon, in his excellent study of the subject, has truly observed, "The prevailing peace in the country together with the personal interest of the sovereign gave a powerful impetus to the growth of art and literature. Poets, philosophers, scholars, artisans, all flocked to Court in search of patronage, and talent was but rarely disappointed. The King was never slow to recognise merit and rewarded it generously. His example was followed by his courtiers, who vied with one another in extending their patronage to really capable men."<sup>1</sup>

The *Mot-i-Majid* or Pearl Mosque was built at Agra in seven years (1645-52) at a cost of Rs. 300,000. In the words of St. Nikol Shakh it was "designed by a craftsman who possessed the skill to make stone suggest the struggle of the soul to soar above mundane entanglements. Built on a high plateau, with a spacious court of white marble, surrounded by a gallery and columns made of the same stone, its white, delicately shaped domes rise above the red, solid-looking ramparts, powerfully conveying that idea."<sup>2</sup>

The Taj Mahal, details of the construction of which have already been given, seen from the *Sarowar-Pair* or *Jamini Tower* in Agra Fort (where Shah Jahan gazed at it for the last time from his prison window), reveals "the pearly marble set off against the green foliage of the garden and the deep blue of the Indian sky, a sight the charm of which is never forgotten by any one who has had the good fortune to behold it."

"Perhaps the most entrancing view is to be had on a tranquil night, when the full moon floats vermilion lighting up the tomb with an ethereal glow, and the mausoleum is mirrored in the calm surface of the *Jamini*. The closer one examines the Taj Mahal the more one admires it. The minutest detail has been carefully thought out and executed with tireless patience. In inscribing words

1. Salomon, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-47.

2. *Early Old and New*, p. 75. Another writer has described it as "a poem of formal stone" and observes: "There is something more intense in the profile impression of these disciplined arches, those white and blue perspectives, than in the sight of the Gothic perpendicular .... The grandeur of the Great temple has not that passion pettish in beauty .... The mausoleum is then, a meditation and drama, there between blue and white." (*1907*) *Jamini, Through life and temple*, pp. 224-6, cited by Edwards and Garrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-12.)

from the Ganga round the tall doorways the artists have shown themselves such masters of perspective that the latest thirty feet or more above the line of the eye appear to be exactly the same size as those a foot from the ground. The mosaic work is done with coral, Jasper, porcelaine, carnelians, malachite, lapis lazuli, and other precious stones.<sup>1</sup>

The Taj will attract tourists from all over the world and is perhaps the most admired monument ever built by man. Harmonious expression fails to convey in words the delicate nuance of its exquisite beauty: it has nevertheless been described as 'A Dream in Marble,' as 'a summing up of many forms of beauty.' "It is difficult not" writes Mr. Clarence Schreier, "that it was the manner of Shah Jahan who made the Taj. From the moment of the first inception of its idea in the beauty-haunted mind of the Grand Mogul, the Taj became the property of the world. . . . Shah Jahan, the Oriental despot, was in this a greater Socialist than the most radical of our reformers. He believed in the community of Art. . . . ~~and~~ the standing message of the Taj is still being unfolded."<sup>2</sup>

Shah Jahan's patronage was not confined to architecture alone, though one writer has observed: "Even if the entire mass of historical literature had perished, and only these buildings had remained to tell the story of Shah Jahan's reign, there is little doubt that it would have still been pronounced as the most magnificent in history."<sup>3</sup> Both Persian and Hindi, prose and poetry, music, paintings<sup>4</sup> and dance, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine, all flourished equally. There were both Hindu and Muslim writers, scholars, and artists. Translations of great Sanskrit works were also made. Besides those attributed to Dink Shikah may be mentioned the rendering into Persian of the *Prabodh Chandrodaya* by

1. *Ibid.*, p. 75. See "Indians and Muslim Persia Dura," N. L. Chaturji, J. U. P. R. S. Soc. 1897; and "The Development of Persian Architecture under the Moghuls," J. A. Quatana, J. A. S. R. S. L., 2-3, July-Dec. 1902, pp. 147-77.

2. *Essay on Muslim Art*, pp. 26-8.

3. *Schreier*, op. cit., pp. 161-2.

4. "The artists of Shah Jahan allowed themselves to be largely influenced both by the old Hindu tradition and by study of European pictures. . . . Many of the arts were supported upon unimpaired traditions of vision and tradition of hand. Such were able to use with supreme beauty consisting of a single inspired's hair. The portraits of Shah Jahan's time, which are free from the milky sweetness in the painting and engraving ages, are wonderfully lifelike and often perfectly charming" (Smith, O. H., p. 211.)

Muhammad Bayazid Dîn and the *Kawachpuri* by Bîr Hâr Kârân, Mullâ Perîd Mausuîfî, the greatest astronomer of the period, prepared the astral chart entitled *Shih-i-Shâhshâhî*, Atashâh wrote a treatise on Algebra, Memorization and Arithmetic, and dedicated it to the Emperor and Dîk, while Abdur Rashîd translated *Shi' Gaysi* from Sanskrit.

"The period of Shâh Jahân's reign," according to Dr. Schomer, "partially coincided with what is described as the most brilliant epoch in the development of Hindi literature and language. The Emperor could hardly remain aloof from its influence. He spoke Hindi, was fond of Hindi music, and patronized Hindi poets. The Hindi poets who were then connected with the court were Sankar Dâs, Chintamani, and Kaviśekhara Jacharya." Shâh Jahân delighted in The Emperor's son-in-law, Lâl Khân Gaysi Samasîrî, singing the *Shah-jod* tune, which was the Emperor's favorite. Jagannath, the best Hindi musician of the age, "was exceedingly favoured by Shâh Jahân," and received from him the title *Mahîd Kârî Râi*. Shâh Jahân was a master-player on the *rubab* or guitar, and Shâh Jahân on the *lute* or *rubab*."

In spite of all that has been said above, however, Shâh Jahân will remain a paradox in some respects. The

Shâh Jahân a minute details of his daily routine, of which we have contemporary evidence, show him to have been a man of strenuous activity and great self-command; but legend whispers many a tale of extreme self-indulgence verging on senseless dissipation for which, however, there seems to be little foundation.<sup>1</sup> His sense of fairness and justice was great; yet, at times he was guilty of excessive cruelty; though this was a common trait of the age. He entertained many Hindus in his Court and service, and was especially tolerant towards Christians, as mentioned by Bernier; nevertheless, at times, he gave way to acts of intolerance, though sometimes not without provocation, as in the case of the Portuguese. But his destruction of Hindu temples is less intelligible. Says the author of the *Shâhshâh-nâmâ*:

1. Bernier, *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

2. Ibid., p. 228. <sup>3</sup> Bernier and Kaviśekhara Jacharya of the Mughal Court by P. K. Gode in *Annals of the Jai Prakash Sanshodhan Mandal, Varanasi*, Vol. I, pt. 10, based on the contemporary *Kaviśekhara-nâmâ* and Bernier's letter.

3. Ibid., pp. 228, 229-30.

It had been brought to the notice of His Majesty that during the late reign many old temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The British were now desirous of completing them. His Majesty, the defender of the faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be put down. It was now reported from the provinces of Allahabad that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.<sup>1</sup>

This was in 1833, now over three hundred years ago. It is further related that "Natives were forbidden to dress in the Muslin style, to sell or drink wine openly or privately, to create their dead or bury the dead near Muslim graveyards; and to purchase Muslin, shewn-of-war."<sup>2</sup> These and other acts of petty persecution indicated that there was already a set-back in the tide of Islamism as well begun by Akbar. Yet, Datta Valla refers to the prohibition of cow-slaughter in Cutchay, and Marique to strict injunctions against slaying of animals in Hindu districts.<sup>3</sup>

Dryden's lines best sum the career of this glorious career!

'Oh! had he still that character maintained,  
Of valour, which in blooming Youth he gain'd,  
He promised in his East a glorious Race  
New mark from his Marignan, sets a pace  
Not in the Sun, where he from Noon declines,  
And with abated heat less fiercely shines,  
Seems to grow colder as he goes away,  
Flourishing himself with the remains of Day;  
So he who, in his Youth, for Glory strove,  
Would recompense his age with Ease and Love'

Avering-Zele

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 100.  
2. *Ibid.*, op. cit., pp. 204-25.  
3. *Ibid.*, p. 206. Latta-Paul observes: "For Datta-Valla says the prophet is long to sit amidst ever-rich surroundings." *Ibid.*, op. cit., p. 242.

# GENEALOGY

## AURANGZEB

(1658-1707)



## AUTHORITIES\*

A. PRIMARY: I. COURT ANNALS. (i) *Amā-ush-Shih* of Muhammad Salih Randa contains the history of the War of Succession. It continues the story of the death of Shih Jāhid but is considered more reliable in its earlier than in its later part. It is also interesting for its biographical notices of eminent men of the period. (Extracts in E. & O., op. cit., VII, pp. 123-32.)

(ii) *Al-mughir-Mihna* of Mirza Mahmūd Khān was written (1888) by order of Asanqab, and is a courtly account of the first ten years of his reign. It is strange, however, that on its being shown to the Emperor, he forbade its continuation. "The Mughal Emperor professed as the cause of the prohibition that the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements....It is strained, verbose, and tedious; ~~his~~ in its flattery, abusive in its censure." (Ibid., pp. 178-80.)

(iii) *Ma'āni-Asanqab* of Muhammad Salih Mustafā Khān, written after Asanqab's death, but based on State papers. It is comparatively very brief as it deals with the history of 81 years in only 541 pages. The *Al-mughir-Mihna* covering only 10 years contains 1159 pages. (Both, *Middle-Eastern Studies Series*). The author undertook the work by desire of his patron, and finished it in 1710 A.D., only three years after the death of Asanqab. "He had been a constant follower of the Court for forty years, and an eye-witness of many of the transactions he records" (Ibid., pp. 181-81.)

2. PRIVATE HISTORIANS. (i) *Zafar Mihna* (also called *Asanqab-Mihna*, *Ma'āni-Asanqab*, etc.) of Akh Khān Fard is a short history,<sup>1</sup> beginning with the invasion of Bijapur (1686) and ending with the death of Mir Jamsī (1692). Prof. Barker observes, "The author

\* On account of its complexity and vastness, as also from the paucity of material that is available for the reign of Asanqab, the compilation of a bibliography becomes peculiarly difficult. Hence only the most important and indispensable sources have been indicated here. "The attempt to write an epitome of the *four years* of this illustrious monarch," observes Khān Khān, "is like trying to measure the waters of the sea in a pitcher; the affairs of the last forty years in particular are a boundless ocean, which cannot have shown from concealing to the shape of narrative."

write with independence and in some cases reveals facts which could not have been pleasing to his master." (Copies at Bhopal.)

(8) *Fatkh-i-Shah-Shahi* of Mir Muhammad Masum (1680?) ends abruptly on the eve of Shuja's flight, but "mentions many facts not to be found elsewhere and seemingly true. For Shuja's doings he is our only authority and a very important one too. There is a striking agreement between him and Masumi in many particulars; evidently the two used the same source of information." (Sarkar.)

(9) *Muntakhbat-i-Jahid* Muhammad Khali of Muhammad Hashim Khali Khali is by far the most important. It is a complete history of the Mughal Emperors from Babur down to Muhammad Shah (1739). The author's father was an officer under Murad Baksh. Khali Khali himself conducted an embassy to Bombay in 1694. "His reflective style, description of the condition of society, and characteristic anecdotes," writes Prof. Sarkar, "save the work from the dry formality of the Court annals, and he is specially informing with regard to Deccan affairs."

This work is also frequently referred to as *Fatkh-i-Khat Khali* ... *Khat* (miswritten) is supposed by some to have been the title kindly conferred by Muhammad Shah upon the writer, Muhammad Hashim Khali, for his having conserved his valuable work for a long time (owing to Aurangzeb's ban on histories). Others derive the word from *Khat*, a district of Khassan near Nalagarh. The historian was made *Shiwa* by Nadir-i-Mulk in the reign of Farrukh Siyar (Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 307-308.)

There are also two valuable Persian histories written by contemporary Hindus: (1) *Nurkh-i-Sikandar* by Shams Bahadur; (2) *Fatakh-i-Alaughri* by Ishwarilal Nagar of Pitha (Gujarat). Both were in Imperial service. The former is important for affairs in the Deccan; the latter for Rajputana.

3. Miscellaneous, Sanskrit, French, etc. (1) *Akbar-i-Alaughri* or *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*—12, by J. N. Sarkar.

(2) *Ma'atral-usura* or the biographical dictionary of the Mughal passage is also a work of peculiar interest and value. It was begun about 1740 and completed in 1779. It was compiled by several writers from ~~various~~ authoritative histories, official accounts, letters, etc. "Its chief value lies in the many characteristic anecdotes it mentions and the light it throws on the manners of the age." (Sarkar; E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 187-91.)

(iii) For other authorities, particularly Asangadh's letters (more than a thousand in Sir J. N. Sarkar's possession alone) families, Court incidents, etc., see Sarkar's *History of Asangadh*, vol. I, pp. xv-xvi; vol. II, pp. 304-17; vol. III, pp. 448-49. Also see E. & D., op. cit. VII, pp. 186-200; V. A. Smith, *O. B.* pp. 451-52.

(iv) "Imperial Mughal Families in Gujarat," M. S. Comshawie (Journal of the University of Bombay, July 1940).

(v) "MS copy of the Dabih of Dabih Sultan," Zafar Khat, J. R. A. S. Bengal, V, 1, 1939.

4. *European Accounts.* Of the European travellers, Bernier, Tavernier, and Manucci have already been noticed in the previous chapter. The following critical observations of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar on the extent of their reliability, however, are worthy of attention :—

"Their works are of undoubted value as throwing light on the condition of the people, the state of trade and industry, and the history of the Christian churches in India. Moreover, the collection of Indian institutions by foreign observers has a freshness and weight all its own. But of the political history of India, apart from the few events in which they took part or which they personally witnessed, their report merely reproduced the local rumours and the stories current among the populace, and cannot be set against the evidence of contemporary historians and letters in Persia. . . . From their position these foreign travellers had no access to the best sources of information; the State archives were closed to them. They visited the rulers of Indian history only occasionally and as suppliants for favours; hence they could not derive the oral information which only familiar intercourse with the highest personages in camp and Court could have given them. Finally, their imperfect knowledge of literary Persian prevented them from using the written records of the time and checking the reports they had received orally." (*History of Asangadh*, I, pp. xii-11.) For the principal European authorities see Lane-Poole, *Asangadh*. In addition to Bernier, Tavernier, and Manucci, he mentions the following :—

(a) Dr. Fryer's *New Account of India* chiefly useful for the Maratha power under Shahu, The voyage was in S. India 1673-81.

(b) Orléans's *Voyage de Surat*—visited only Bombay and Surat (1683-85).



(4) *Hedge's Diary* (Yule's ed.)—for Mughal provincial administration in 1682-4.

(5) Dr. Gerald Carré's account of Aurangzeb's camp in the Deccan in 1693.—'throws light on an obscure portion of the reign.'

B. Secondary: (i) Orme, *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire* (London, 1762).

(ii) N. Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 603-75. Smith writes: "Elphinstone knew the Maratha country and people so intimately that his narrative counts as a primary authority for some purposes."

(iii) S. Lane-Poole, *Aurangzeb*, (*Rulers of India*, O. U. P., 1900). On the whole this is the most readable short account of the reign of Aurangzeb.

(iv) J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, 5 vols. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1912-20) is a monumental work based on various original sources, not to be easily surpassed. An abridged ed. of this entitled *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, is also available (1930).

(v) Zahiruddin Barani, *Aurangzeb and his Times* (Tharapore-wala, Bamberay 1935).

(vi) J. N. Sarkar, *Shahar in Mughal India*, pp. 30-38.

(vii) " " *Mughal Administration*.

(viii) W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (Macmillan, London, 1909).

(ix) A. Buhārshah, *The Life of a Mogul Princess* (Routledge, London, 1931).

C. Secondary Sources: I. Sikh History—(i) *History of the Sikhs, Hari Ram Gupta*, 3 vols., also *Studies in Late Mughal History of the Punjab: 1707-85* by the same author. (Lahore 1944).

(ii) Cunningham, J. D., *A History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. Calcutta (1911).

(iii) McGeiger, W. L., *The History of the Sikhs* (London, 1948.)

(iv) Phryer, C. H., *A Short History of the Sikhs* (Delson).

II. Rajput History—Tod, J., *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajpootana* (2 vols, Calcutta, 1809-9).

III. Maratha History—(i) Sarkar, J. N., *Shivaji and his Times*.

(ii) Sen, B. N., *Military System of the Marathas* (Calcutta); *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji* (Calcutta, 1927).

*Administrative system of the Marathas* (Calcutta, 1935).

(iii) Macartney, H. G., *Shivaji the Maratha* (Oxford, 1935).

(iv) Talbot, C. V., *Shivaji the Founder of Maratha Swraj* (Poona, 1931.)

(v) Kincaid and Phoenix, *History of the Maratha People* (2 vols. Oxford, 1934-35.)

(vi) Kincaid, M. G., *Rise of the Maratha Power* (Bombay, 1930).

(vii) Deshpande, G. K., *The Dehansare or the Escape of Shivaji the Great from Agra*. (B. I. S. M., Poona 1929)

(viii) Bhatnagar, V. S., *Gwalanvatsaji Karmachari in Marathi with valuable appendices in English* (Bharat Vidya Samiti, Dhule, Poona 1934).

(ix) Sharma, S. R., *Maratha History Re-examined* (1556-1707) throws fresh light on many important points (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944).

IV. Articles—(i) "Prince Aurar and the Portuguese" *S. Panchajanya* (Bengal, Past and Present, April-June 1933).

(ii) "The Mission of O. Weldon and Abraham Newman to the Court of Aurangzeb," H. Das (I. A., April and May 1933).

(iii) "Rastanji Mank", H. Das (I. A., June & July 1933).

(iv) "Mulla Aurar—a new life," J. N. Sarkar (I. R. Q. IX, 2 & 3).

(v) "P. Palmer in India," *Morland* (I. A. LXII, Aug.-Oct. 1935).

(vi) "Religious Policy of Aurangzeb," Sri R. Sharma, (I. R. Q., XII, 2 & 3, 1936).

(vii) "An Anonymous Source of Mughal History"—(*The Padshah Bazar*) (J. Asian R. Soc. IV, April 1936).

(viii) "The Monuments of Aurangzeb's Reign," S. K. Banerji (J. U. P. R. S., XVI, I, July 1943).

(ix) "A Chapter in the History of Sikh Militancy," C. A. Banerjee, J. I. M., XXIII, 3, (Dec. 1944) pp. 181-88.

(x) A short History of the Origin and Rise of the Sikhs (*Mohit-e-Sikh wa Viraaji Firak-i-Sikhs*) tr. with introd. and Notes by Indubhawan Banerjee. Calcutta, 1942. (and of I. R. Q., XXIII, 3, March 1943).

(xi) "Court Dances during the Mughal Period": "Aurangzeb and his Policy,"—J. A. H. R. I., vol. I, 1-2, pp. 39-45; pp. 182-193.

## CHAPTER IX

### POST MERIDIAN OF THE EMPIRE

'The history of Aurangzeb is practically the history of India for sixty years... India when the Mogul empire reached its greatest extent, and the largest single State ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power was formed.'

[JAYWANTH SANKAR]

'Aurangzeb's life had been a vast failure, indeed, but he had failed grandly.'

[STANLEY LAM-POH]

It is indeed difficult to say how long exactly the sun shines brightest after he has reached the zenith; but it is common experience that the mid-day glow continues for quite a length of time before we are aware that afternoon has come and sunset must follow soon. So it was with the Mogul Empire at the end of Shah Jahan's reign: The Golden Age was not yet quite past, but the long rule of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) saw it tarnish; and the death of the last of the Great Moghals began to show the iron at its core. Indeed, to vary the metaphor, the gilded tomb did worms infest; and all that had glittered was not gold. The fifty years of Aurangzeb's Imperial sway saw what one recent writer has aptly described as "the turn of the tide."

[Aurangzeb as Prince had shown great promise both as an administrator and as a general. On the throne he set far quite as long a period as his great-grand-father Akbar. The half-century of rule in each case was full of incessant activity; and of the two, Aurangzeb had certainly the better start in life. Akbar was a mere child when he succeeded to his father's precarious legacy; his resources were scanty, his troubles great and many. Not so with Aurangzeb: his age was forty at the time of his accession. His dominion was vast, his wealth great, and his army better equipped and larger. Internally the Empire was at peace, and the machinery of Government at work during three generations. Still did Aurangzeb fail. The key to this failure is his character. Once more we find the oft-repeated experience: the fortunes of the Empire turning on the pivot of the Emperor's personality. Aurangzeb was in line-

trial as Akbar was Shalāh; but both were equally zealous in the pursuit of their respective ideals. Aurangzeb aimed at and finally succeeded in reaching the great work of Akbar. In the present reign we first witness the unweaving of the chord of national life.

Aurangzeb has been described by some writers as a 'political paradox.' The unravelling of this enigma, however, requires a clear knowledge of the events of his reign. These, in our opinion, are better studied in a logical rather than a purely chronological order.

The present chapter is arranged as follows :—

I. Early Career; II. Frontier Wars; III. North India; IV. South India; V. The Europeans; and VI. The Middle of Aurangzeb.

### I. EARLY CAREER (1618-58)

According to KHAN KHAN, 'Aurangzeb was born in the year 1028 A.H. (1618, A.D.) at Dhul, which is on the frontier

of the State of Ahmadnagar and Malwa, whilst his father was Subahdar of the Deccan.'<sup>1</sup>

Baker gives the date more precisely as "the night of 10th Rajab, 1027 A. H. (24th October, 1618 A. D. Oth. Style)."<sup>2</sup> *Mulla-din Muhammad Aurangzeb* was the sixth among fourteen children of Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal. He first set on his father's throne on 1st Rajab, 1028 A. H. (21 July, 1658 A. D.); but his formal coronation took place on 24th Rabi-ul, 1029 (5 June, 1659), under the high-sounding title: *Shah-i-Muazzam Mulla-din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur 'Alauddin 'Abdullah-i-Ghazi*. 'Alauddin or 'world conqueror,' the title by which he was more familiarly known, appears to have been suggested by the Persian inscription on a sword presented to Aurangzeb by Shah Jahan.<sup>3</sup> It went up correctly the spirit of the Emperor and bore the keynote of his ambition and rule.

The period of forty years induced by these two events was one of event-time for Aurangzeb; the fifty years that followed were to yield the expected harvest. The milestones in Aurangzeb's progress towards the throne may be briefly recounted.

In June 1626, at the age of eight, Aurangzeb was sent to Lahore, together with Dara, as a hostage to Jahangir on account of Shah Jahan's rebellion. He obtained his release only on the death of Jahangir and the accession of Shah Jahan, on 20th February, 1628.

1. *Mushaf-i-Khansavani*, II. & D. 102, p. 232.  
2. *Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 7. The birth-place was Dhul (1628, O. Style II.) a town South of Dhulapoor Station (B. N. & C. I. No. French India, District, Military Presidency).  
3. *Late-Proofs, National India*, p. 322.

With this year began his regular education, chiefly, among others, under Mir Mahmood Haidar of Ghaz. He soon familiarised himself with the *Qur'an* and the *Hadis*, and became an adept at the writing of the *Arabic* hand. "His variety and elegant style of writing was also excellent." Though he had a dislike for poetry, the didactic variety was not neglected by him. His aversion to music, painting, and the fine arts has been made memorable in the familiar anecdote of the funeral of music: the mourners in the *swinge* being asked by Aurangzeb to bury her (the *Musik*) deep, but she should not again! These perfunctory traits of the later Emperor had their beginning in the early life and training of the young prince.

Another incident of Aurangzeb's boyhood also indicated the promise of the cool courage and philosophical bent which were so characteristic of his character. In May 1655 the Prince was watching an elephant fight when one of the infuriated animals rushed at him. But the dauntless stripling of less than fifteen summers never bledged an inch. On the contrary he wounded the elephant with his spear and evaded the admiration of all present. When Shih Jiahin died over his shoulders, he only remarked: "If the fight had ended finally for me it would not have been a matter of shame. Death does the same as the Emperor: it is an *Alibab*!"

On 15th December 1654 Aurangzeb first set his foot on the official ladder when he was made commander of Ten Thousand Horse. Next

September he was sent to suppress the *Bandels*

Plot. Bang of rebellion, at the head of three armies. The time the *Lahore*.

of that expedition again typified the character of the supreme commander: the survivors of the *Jaikar* were dragged to the *Aligarh* *Arms*; two sons and one grandson of *Jahangir* were converted to *Islam*; another son and minister of the *Raja*, having refused to apostatize, were executed in cold blood. "The lofty temple of *Shri Singh* at *Udhna* was demolished and a mosque was erected on its site. The fort of *Delwal* was taken (end of October) and the spoils of war, including the buried treasure of *Shri Singh*, amounted to one *lakh* of *Rupya*."

The next step of Aurangzeb was nothing short of the viceroyalty of the Deccan to which he was appointed in 1656. The city of Aurangabad,

which was named after him, was made the viceregal

capital. The conquest of *Udipi*, *Assam*, *Bardham*, etc., and the subjugation of the *Maratha* general

*Salim* and *Khalil* *Shah* were effected during this period, 1656-61.

In this last year (1660) Aurangzeb was called to *Agra* by the illness of his sister *Jahangira*. Within three weeks of this he was deprived of his southern viceroyalty, rank and emoluments, it is said, owing to *Diary* persistent hostility towards him. However, by the intervention of *Shahjahan* he was appointed viceroy of *Gujarat*, 16 February, 1661. From here he

was succeeded by the command of the *Delhi* expedition in 1661. Within

the short period of two years in Gujarat, Anangpakh had shown sufficient administrative capacity and firmness.

Though Bafli had to be returned to Sharif Muhammad, it was during this campaign that Anangpakh distinguished himself by his cool and steadfast faith, treating his prisoner in the midst of a raging battle. The enemy in garrison administration stopped fighting and exclaimed: "To fight with such a man is to court one's own ruin." Nevertheless, "the war cost the Indian treasury four lakhs of rupees, while not an inch of territory was gained on the side of [17].

From March 1646 to July 1650 Anangpakh was Governor of Malhar and Bafli, during which period also he was called upon to besiege Kanthalur twice (1649 and 1650), with no better success, however, than in Bafli. But the failure was due to no fault of the commander.<sup>1</sup> The building of a new fort in place of the old Thatta was a sample of Anangpakh's personal activities.

Anangpakh was again sent to the Deccan (1651). Spending nine months, which are unique in the picture's life at Anangpakh, he reached Anangpakh in November, 1653. The province had

Second Viceroy. not prospered during his absence since *ghawar*—the economics of incompetent viceroys had worked its ruin. Now, thanks to the efforts of Anangpakh and his revenue minister, Mirza-i-Khal Khatib, the province once again followed its lost prosperity. The efficiency of both the administration and the army was improved by the dismissal of incompetent men, the inspection and supply of re-

1. Ibid., p. 21.

2. Shah Jahan was no doubt sorry with Anangpakh for what he supposed to prove the latter's incapacity. "But in truth," as Nurjar Khan writes, "it is wrong to blame Anangpakh for the failure to take Kanthalur. Throughout the siege he was really second to none." The Emperor from Kabul started every movement through Shahish Khatib. His mission had to be taken for every important step. Anangpakh's last justification was offered near year, when a still viceroy and another expedition against Kanthalur led by Shah Jahan met with an even more humiliating defeat.—Ibid., p. 24.

3. Anangpakh's own speech with Shah Jahan (also called Shahish) finds no parallel in his political life. The woman's "simple grace, modest skill and mastery of Shahishness," made her the backbone of the kingdom in the picture Anangpakh's life. This was a strategy in the keeping of Mirza Khatib who had married a sister of Anangpakh's mother. The speech of her husband showed, "with Shahish," "stunned Anangpakh's heart in a moment," while Sir Jahangir, "stunned Anangpakh's heart in a moment," with Shahish's imperiousness he took her away from his own's house and became closely acquainted with her. So much so, that one day she offered him a cup of wine,.... and the husband knew was about to taste the forbidden drink when the sky suddenly rained away the cup from his hand and said, "My child, you only to last year, two for me, and now to make you fall into the sin of drinking." Death was the story that when she was still in the bloom of youth, Anangpakh secretly married at her own and buried her dead to the big task at Anangpakh.—Ibid., pp. 13-15; also see Nurjar, *Anangpakh of Anangpakh*, pp. 41-42.

quibis stans and emulatio, and the enhancement of proper training, etc. At the same time an annual saving of Rs. 50,000 was also effected. The conquest of Golkonda was pushed on until Shah Jahan ordered capitulation and arrest (April, 1656). The services of the capable Mir Juma were enlisted for the Empire by creating him Prime Minister on the death of Asadullah Khan. Next year (1657) Bijapur was steadily invested. But the agents of Bijapur were busy at the Imperial capital. So at the concert of Aurangzeb's success, Shah Jahan accepted the terms of Adi Shah : Bidar, Kalyani, and Paranda were to be ceded together with the payment of a war indemnity of one lakh of rupees.

Thus both Golkonda and Bijapur were driven from complete annexation owing to Shah Jahan's hasty overtures over the head of the Deccan Viceroy. To make matters worse, his illness in September 1657 plunged the Empire in civil war.

Dilali Shikah, the late pretemptive, had been his father's favourite all these years. It was owing to his influence over Shah Jahan that Aurangzeb had been rather badly treated ; at least so the latter believed. His religious prohibitions only alarmed Aurangzeb who was cherishing dreams of becoming the Emperor of the Faith. His frequent transfers, disapprobation, and interference by his father, irritated Aurangzeb beyond all patience. His restless nature more and more pointed to his eldest brother as the source of all mischief, pestilence and potential. Tidily-generosity established by Shah over all areas from the capital, during Shah Jahan's illness, made matters worse. Rumours of all variety swept through the ragged empire. The jealous brothers, only saw in this Shah's sinister motives : to usurp the throne, to imprison, or possibly murder the Emperor ! What then of the fate of his distant brothers ? What above all, Aurangzeb must have thought, of the fate of Sultan in India ?

Instead set the example by proclaiming himself Emperor, in Calcutta under the title of Muazzamshah din Allah (Dumbari). He was all haste and fire. But Aurangzeb was caution itself. They contested many places together, and finally by the beginning of 1659 set their armies in motion.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb's diplomacy had already begun to work. Before he quitted the Deccan he took due precautions to pacify both Ghalibanda and Bijapur. He urged, no doubt, Kesh Shah to pay up his arrears

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Aurangzeb's emotion at this time is embodied in the words put into his mouth by Dryden in his tragedy, *Aurang-Zeb*. To Indians in fictitious character! he says :

'Love consists, and with about my starry mind,  
Lies like that's home by a hypocritical wind.  
Oh, I could with you, with eager haste!  
Demand your loves, with hungry taste!  
Shall we part, but yet? wonder you each part,  
Dying with pleasure, watch you to my heart!  
Then hold you off, and gaze! Then, with new rage,  
Invade you, till my murderous hands overtake!  
So lost, so blind, so I feel there could know !'

of independence, but at the same time he ordered the Mughal army at Golkonda to do nothing that might jeopardise Mughal interests. The Adil Shah is alleged to have replied: "Remain loyal and keep your promises," he wrote. "I agree that (1) the fort of Parvate and its dependent territories, the Kistwar, and the mahal of Wimgi, which have been assigned to the Empire, together with that portion of the Karnatahs which had been granted to the late Adil Shah, should be left to you as before; and (2) out of your promised indemnity of one lakh of Rupees, thirty lakhs are withheld. Protect this money; improve its administration. Expel Shiva who has strayed into the possession of some forts of the land. Do you send me at least 10000 cavalry. I shall grant you all the treasure up to the bank of the Tungabhadra."

Aurangzeb was also actively interfering, though with utmost secrecy, to crush the grandees of the Empire on his side; they on their side were bent on securing their own interests, for it was well known that Aurangzeb was by far the most experienced and capable among the brothers.

Now Aurangzeb triumphed in the War of Succession that thus started has already been told in some detail. Nor need the somewhat tale of the fate of the defeated brothers be repeated here again. Success consolidated Aurangzeb's diplomatic and military ability.

"Birds-eye's a vulgar road to singly sway;  
The every dull-spot often brother's way.  
Except from above he lightens into a gale;  
Grows a peer with that he else gains;  
Heavenly riches, a low, inglorious, righted throne,  
But who by force a empire does obtain,  
Shows he can govern that, which he could gain,  
Right states of course, what's in he was before;  
Murder and corruption are no more."

## II. FRONTIER WARS

The principal wars of Aurangzeb's reign were waged to suppress the Hindu reaction to his oppressive religious policy. Apart from these there were also the political wars of conquest directed towards extension of territory. The frontier wars, in the north-east and the north-west, were more or less of a positive character.

Ever since the peace of 1609 there had been no trouble in the north-west of the Empire. But the inefficiency of Shah's Bengal administration and the opportunity afforded by the Succession War encouraged the Afghans to resume their independence. In 1657 Pannu Shahman, the ruler of Wash-Nohar, sent an army into Mughal territory, ostensibly in pursuit of a rebellious vassal. Next year Ghalati, the capital of Khawar, was captured and accepted by the Afghans. But not until the end of the Civil war, in 1660, could the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 50.



Mughals do anything to relieve their position in this quarter. In that year Mir Junda, the respectable lieutenant of Aurangzeb, was appointed Governor of Bengal, and ordered to 'punish lawless rascals of the province, especially those of Assam and Mijah (Kachibari).'<sup>1</sup>

On 1st November, 1681, Mir Junda started on his great campaign against Dima. His army consisted of 12,000 horse and 20,000 foot, besides a host of over 300 war-vehicles.<sup>2</sup> In six days' time the capital of Kachibari was taken and rededicated Wangdengpa; a mosque was built over its desecrated temple, and the entire kingdom was annexed. Other vassals soon followed: the enemy's fleet of 300 vessels was seized, and Jagantha, Raja of Garogaon, was expelled. The spoils taken were enormous—1750 elephants, 3 lakhs of rupees in cash, 475 pieces of artillery, 1245 camel-vehicles, 1500 *shawls*, 8187 *malabars*, 348 muskets of gunpowder, a thousand and odd tons, and 115 store-houses of paddy, each containing from 50 to 1,000 musaks of grain.<sup>3</sup>

But the outbreak of an epidemic of fever and flux, in August, carried away vast numbers of both the people and the army. In one Mughal camp alone, out of 1,000 troops under Dair Kida, only 140 were left. In the whole of Assam no less than 100,000 people succumbed to the catastrophe, in a single year. "In the Mughal camp no suitable diet or comfort was available for the sick; all had to live on coarse rice; no wheat, no pulses, no ajit, no sugar, and no opium or tobacco except a pinch at fabulous prices."<sup>4</sup> A pipe of tobacco sold at Rs. 3, a slice of opium at a gold mohar, a cow of *amag-did* at Rs. 10, and salt also at the same rate at the last. The Hindustani and Turki soldiers languished for want of wheaten bread; the horses perished from eating rice.<sup>5</sup>

In all these trials and sufferings Mir Junda retained his equanimity and lived and ate like any common soldier. When the illness ceased, he resumed the offensive, but he was not destined to complete this conquest. He was seized with pleurisy and fever which soon became very serious. So a treaty was signed with the Ahom king, through the mediation of Dair Kida, in December 1681. According to Kildu Kida, the Raja 'agreed to pay 250,000 *talas* of silver, and 12000 *talas* of gold, and to present fifty elephants and one of his only daughters to the Emperor. He also agreed to present fifteen elephants and another daughter to Khaw-Khawan, together with some cash and goods. It was further agreed that all the conquered places a few days' ride and towns in cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal should be attached to the Imperial dominions.<sup>6</sup>

Mir Junda died at Kharput, on the frontier of Kachibari, on the 15th *Rasada*, at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign of Aurangzeb

1. *Ibid.* p. 134.

2. The word *gawari* of these, called *ghawris*, denoted 14 guns and 20 men each, and were drawn by 4 horses or long reeve-horns.

3. *Ibid.* p. 135.

4. *Ibid.* pp. 135-6.

5. K. & D., op. cit., p. 138. For further details see Sarkar, op. cit., III, 9-10.

(21st March, 1834). "No other general of that age," observes Barker in his well-merited eulogium "conducted war with as much humanity and justice, nor kept his soldiers, privates and captives alike, under such discipline; no other general could have retained to the last the confidence and even affection of his subordinates amidst such appalling sufferings and dangers. The owner of 50 mansabs of diamonds, vizier of the Viceroy of Bengal, he shared with the meanest soldier the privations of the march and brought premature death on himself by intemperate delights and long laborious days. He issued strict orders forbidding plunder, rape and oppression on the people, and saw to it that his orders were obeyed. The stern punishments which he meted out to the first few offenders had a salutary effect. We realize Mir Jafar's promise which have more deeply by contrast with others. With a hero like Mir Jafar, heroism of the historic Talish comes to be extravagant; his eulogy of the general is not fulsome flattery but homage deservedly paid to a true king of men."<sup>1</sup>

Speaking of his campaign Feroz Shattacharya writes: "It was the most daring and audacious plan of imperialism venture, almost unparalleled in the annals of Mughal India, and has not probably been surpassed even in modern times."<sup>2</sup>

Despite these glorious exploits, however, the Mughals lost touch at the close of the next four years. Under the ambitious Chaharadawl, who ascended the throne in November 1686, the Afghans reconquered their possessions. Gadhah fell in November 1687; and all the efforts of the Mughals to recover it proved vain. Thus the Afghans fell on evil days, Khurasan having become prey to civil war. During the eleven years, 1686-96, seven kings sat on its throne, and not one of them died a natural death. The Mughals profited by this, and "took advantage of it to extend their sway over northern and eastern portions of the kingdom, conquering much of the present districts of Rampur and Western Kanoun, and forcing the Rajas in 1711 to confirm these gains by treaty."<sup>3</sup>

The Pathans of the north-western frontier have ever been a perpetual source of irritation to all Indian governments. They

The Afghans have always been independent, but hardly ever united. This dubious heritage of theirs has been our advantage as well as disadvantage. Like numerous death sentences they have gathered thick and passed into the plains of the Pathans; but when they have found themselves cut down by the strong winds of imperialist jealousy. A strong government at Delhi has always acted on them as the blow of the scimitar sun.

1. The beginning of 1687 was one such season of storm and stress. The Pathans under a great leader named Shuja had assumed kingship and crossed the river Indus, drove Attock, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> of 1,000 diamonds

1. E. & D. Co. ed., pp. 120-31.

2. Mughal N. E. Frontier Policy, p. 186.

3. Barker, loc. cit., p. 122.

blamed by Mirshah Ghilak, a man of widely reputation. They were soon followed by other bands of marauders who spread over Peshawar and Attock districts the terror of partitioned looting. But the Emperor took strong measures, and by October 1867 they melted away with heavy losses. Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Mir Jinnah, succeeded in opening the frontier for a period of five years.

2. The next turn was that of the Afghans. In 1871 they rose under their tribal chief Akmal Khán, "a hard general, who crowned himself king, wrote coins in his own name, and proclaiming war against the Mughals, summoned all the Pathan clans to join the national movement and close the Khushab Pass."<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad Amin Khán was still in charge of Afghanistan, intimidated with past misdeeds, failed to apprehend the force of the present rising. The result was the oft-repeated tale of Disaster. "Ten thousand men fell under the enemy's sword in the field, and above two lakhs of Rupees in cash and kind was looted by the enemy. They captured twenty thousand men and women and sent them to Central Asia for sale." Even the family of Mir Amin Khán was captured and had to be ransomed at a very heavy price. This victory fired the imagination of the tribesmen who now began to look upon the standard of Akmal Khán. The post-victors of the Kurais, Khush-hal Khán, also joined the rebels, inspiring them "with his gun no less than his sword."

"The danger to the empire was very great: the rising was a national one, affecting the whole Pathan land 'from Kandahar to Attock,' and its leaders were also men who had served in the Mughal army in Hindustan and the Deccan, and knew the organization, efficiency and tactics of the imperialists."<sup>2</sup> But Aurangzeb was not the man to be moved or baffled by such a danger. Mir Amin Khán was at once replaced by the more experienced Mirshah Khán. In the middle of November, 1871, Mirshah Khán and Mir Jinnah Singh were also sent with reinforcements. Though the want of co-operation among these generals led to another disaster in 1874, Mughal prestige was soon vindicated. Aurangzeb himself proceeded to Hasan Abdal (between Rawal Pindi and Peshawar), in June 1874, and for a year and a half personally directed the operations. After much fighting, with reverses intermixed with victories, the imperial forces finally emerged triumphant.

The result was as much due to diplomacy and intrigue, as to force and military tactics. "Many clans were won over by the grant of pensions, pensions, gifts, and posts in the Mughal army to their leaders."<sup>3</sup> With the appointment of Amin Khán, in March 1877, as Viceroy of Kabul, a period of peace and prosperity followed. This whole chapter has a con-

1. Salfar, op. cit., p. 170.

2. Ibid., p. 142; id. of tribal rebellion of 1868.

3. Barker, loc. cit., p. 144. The part played by Mir Amin Khán in the suppression of the Afghans was of such national character that his name was invoked by Afghan authors to frighten children for years afterwards.

help of Ali Mardin Khan, and was ably assisted in his administration by his wife, Shikhat, who was a woman of great energy, tact, and wise counsel. Aurangzeb's policy of "breaking two boxes by knocking them together" (i.e., setting clan against clan and hereditary feud against feud) was continued. The financial success of Aurangzeb's regime is indicated by a dispatch of his to Aurangabad, dated 12th October, 1682, wherein he writes, "His debts of Payam were allotted by Government to be paid to the Afghans for guarding the roads. I have spent one and half lakhs and saved the remainder to the state."

Still the Khans continued to fight, and made the employment of Afghans against the Rajputs impossible; in the interim they diverted much of the military force from the South to their own expeditions, and thus allowed Shikhat nominative freedom to attain the climax of his career (1679-78).<sup>1</sup>

### III. NORTH INDIA

"The reign of Aurangzeb," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar,<sup>2</sup> "is naturally divided into two equal parts of about 25 years each, the first of which he passed in Northern India and the second in the Deccan." During the earlier of these two periods the centre of effort was unmistakably in the North, not because the Emperor lived there, but because the most important developments, civil and military, centred this region, while the South figured as a far off and negligible factor. In the second half of the reign the situation is reversed: all these resources of the empire are concentrated in the Deccan; the Emperor, his court and family, the bulk of the army, and all his best officers live there for a quarter century, and Hindu-Muslim unity takes a place of secondary importance."<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the two frontiers already described, the disturbances in North India were of two classes: (a) revolts against Aurangzeb's religious policy; (b) minor disorders created by pretenders, unscrupulous chieftains, or pirates. The latter may be disposed of with brief notice before proceeding to the former.

Throughout the reign a series of pretenders caused some temporary excitement in different parts of the Empire. There was: a false Durr in Gujarat (1682), a false Shuja in Mysore (1678), a third in Kashmir (1707), a bogus son of Shah in Afghanistan (1699), and a counterfeiter Akbar in the Deccan (1688).

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 148-7.

<sup>2</sup> Sarkar, op. cit., p. 300.

The principal chieftains or Rājās to cause the movement of armies were (1) Rao Karna of Bilaspur, who submitted towards the close of 1666; (2) Chaugat Rai Bundela (a collateral descendant of Bir Singh Dev), who after considerable fighting committed suicide together with his Rājā Kālī Kamālī, rather than submit to the Moghul (1661)<sup>1</sup>; (3) the Chero Rājā of Palawan, whose kingdom was annexed to the Subh of Bihar, (1661); (4) the rebel prince of Mewar, who was forced into submission in (1664), and again in 1676; and (5) Rājā Bahadur Chandel of Kurnool, who after a protracted struggle (1665-1668) also submitted. The Mughal ruler of Tibet too acknowledged Moghul suzerainty in 1668, as the result of an expedition led from Kashmir. The plates of Chaugat will be dealt with later in the section on Europeans. We now turn to the principal disturbances in North India which were due to Aurangzeb's warlike attacks on the Hindus.

#### PERSECUTION OF HINDUS

The religious policy of Aurangzeb and his attitude towards non-Muslims in general, together with a discussion of all its implications, will be taken up at the end of this chapter. The persecution of the Hindus was the most momentous feature of Aurangzeb's reign. But for it, in spite of his persecution, his regime might have been one of the most glorious instead of being the most odious and fatal. [Despite the fact that Aurangzeb had in him fairly as much Hindu blood as Muslim, he turned out to be a bitter hater of the Hindus.] His grandmother (Shāh Jahan's mother) was a Hindu. Shāh Jahan's father was only half Muslim, inasmuch as his mother too was a Hindu. One of Aurangzeb's own principal queens (Nawab Bai, the mother of his successor Bahadur Shāh) was also a Hindu, being the daughter of the Rajput Rājā, Rājā, of the Rājasthani State in Kashmir. So too was Aurangzeb's favourite Hind. Bāi with whom he fell head over heels in love at Burhanpur, during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. Of his other wives, one was a Persian (Dilras Banu Begum), daughter of Shāh Nader Shāh, a scion of the ruling house of Persia—the champion of the Shi'a sect; another (Udipai Mahal, the mother of Kāfir Bahadur) was, according to the contemporary Venetian traveller Minucci, a Georgian slave-girl captured from Dārā Shikoh's harem. What a

1. Rājā Chhama Shī Bundela, was the son of these parents.

long list of contaminating contacts! But Aurangzeb's fanaticism was certainly not born in the desert, as Akbar's skepticism is supposed to have been, by some writers.

That this bigoted policy was not fatal, as in the case of Shah Jahan's destruction of temples, but deliberate and minutely systematic, will be borne out by the following collection of facts:—

1. Wholesale destruction of Hindu temples.
2. Re-imposition of the Jizya tax.
3. Exaction of heavier customs duties from Hindus.
4. Deposition of Hindus from Imperial services.
5. Prohibition against the free exercise of their religious rites—*Holi* and *Dussehra*.
6. Prohibition of Hindu fairs.
7. Prohibition of wearing arms, fine dresses, and riding by Hindus.
8. Proscription of Hindu learning.

"Aurangzeb began his attack on Hinduism," observes Prof. Sartar, "in an insidious way."<sup>1</sup> He ~~prohibited~~

Deposition of  
Temples at first only to prohibit the building of new temples by the infidels.<sup>2</sup>

Early in his reign local officers in every town and village in Orissa, from Cuttack to Boudinagar, were asked to pull down all temples, great and small, built during the last ten or twelve years and to allow no old temples to be repaired.<sup>3</sup> The first step in this direction was the general

1. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

2. This is indicated by the *Resam-i-Farman* of Aurangzeb, addressed to Akbar Hasan, dated February 28, 1658, granted through the mediation of Prince Salim Muhammad Sultan. It reads:—

"It has been decided according to our Canon Law that long-standing temples should not be demolished, but no new temple allowed to be built. . . . Intelligence has reached us . . . that certain persons have defiled the Hindus residing in Rayam and its environs and certain Rayamites who have the right of holding charge of the ancient temples there, and that they further desire to remove these Rayamites from their sacred sites. Therefore, our royal command is that you should direct that in future no person shall in unlawful ways interfere with or disturb the Rayamites and other Hindus residing in those places."

(Cited by Sartar, *Aurangzeb*, III, pp. 152-53.)

3. Order issued on all inquiries of officials, civil officers (*Muzawid*), agents of *Alphabet*, *Jirah*, and *Amils*.—

"Every idol-house built during the last thirty (30) years, whether with brick or clay, should be demolished without delay. Also, do not allow the so-called Hindus and despicable infidels to repair their old houses. Report of the destruction of temples should be sent to the Court under the seal of the *qilch* and attested by seven *Shahids*." (*Ibid.*)

order issued in April, 1609. 'On the 17th Zi-I-hajja, 1709, it reached the ear of His Majesty, the Protector of the Faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan, and Benares, but especially in the latter, foolish Brahmins were in the habit of expounding irreligious books in their schools, and that students and hearers, Mussulmans as well as Hindus, went there, even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. The Director of the Faith consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the Infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and preaching of idolatrous forms of worship.'<sup>1</sup>

Aurangzeb's iconoclastic zeal appears to have been conceived very early in his life. In 1645, while he was Governor of Gujarat, he converted the temple of Christiana into a mosque and named it *Qasr-ul-Idris*. He also ordered a cow to be slaughtered in the shrine. But the building was restored to the Hindus by order of Shah Jahan. However, when Aurangzeb came to power, he issued a *fatawa* (dated November 20, 1659) to the following effect:—

"In Ahradabad and other parganas of Gujarat in the days before my accession [many] temples were destroyed by my order. They have been repaired and idol worship has been resumed. Carry out the former order."<sup>2</sup>

Among the famous temples thus destroyed in this tornado of fanatical fury, were those of Sonelith in Kathiawar (rebuilt since Ghauri destroyed it), Viharnath (Benares) and the Dehra of Krishna Rai (Mathura, built by Rā Singh Dev Bundela, at a cost of 35 lakhs of Rupees). There was also wholesale demolition of temples in Kutch-Bhar, Ujjain, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Golkonda, Bijapur and Maheswara.

A glint of the fanatical fervour is still preserved for us in the pages of the admiring chroniclers. The *Mir'at-i-Alamgiri* writes:

'Glory be to God, who has given us the faith of Islam, that, in this sign of the destruction of false gods, an undertaking so difficult of accomplishment has been brought to a successful termination! This vigorous support given to the true faith was a sweet blow to the arrogance of the Hindus, and the idols, they turned their faces awestruck to the wall. The richly jewelled idols, taken ~~from~~ the pagan-temples were transferred to Agra, and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Naunkh Bagah

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 181-84.

2. Sachse, Aurangzeb, III, p. 218.

Shah's mosques, in order that they might ever be pressed under foot by the true believers. Mosques changed for names like *Idharidat*.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, at the abolishment in Jodhpur, the writer says, 'Khalid Jahan Bahadur returned from Jodhpur after demolishing its temples, and bringing with himself several methods of idols. The Emperor ordered that the idols, which were mostly of gold, silver, brass, and copper, or stone, and adorned with jewels should be cast in the quadrangle of the court and under the steps of the Juma mosque for being trodden upon.'

Only in Maharashtra Aurangzeb found the houses "exceedingly strong and built wholly of stone and iron." His complaint, 'The Sahib-nawab of the Government in the course of my marching do not get sufficient strength and power (i. e. time) to destroy and raze the temples of the Infidels that meet the eye on the way.' 'So he ordered: You should appoint an orthodox Emperor (sultan) who may afterwards destroy them at leisure and slip up their foundations.' How symbolic and foreshadowing! The Musلمان did the digging of the foundations at leisure not of temples, but of the Maghal dominion!

In 1674 lands held by Hindus in Gujarat, in religious grants, were all confiscated.

'Fight those who do not protect the true faith, till they pay (Jaiya with the hand is hearty,' said the Prophet of Islam (Quasbi, *loc. cit.*). Yet this heinous tax had not been levied within the Maghal dominions since its abolition by Akbar more than a century before Aurangzib, the World-Campaigner, revived it. In the words of the official history compiled from State papers: 'All the aims of the religious Emperor being directed to the spread of the law of Islam and the overthrow of infidel practices, he issued orders that from Bahadur (2nd April, 1675), Jaiya should be levied from the *shikars* in accordance with the Quasbi injunction.'

Sir Jadunath Sarkar from whom the above citation is taken, states, "The theory of some modern writers that the *jaiya* was only commutation money paid for exemption from military service is not borne out by history." He also observes, "We shall not be far wrong in holding that the *jaiya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's direct contribution to the State."<sup>2</sup>

The enthusiasm with which the poll-tax was collected by the more fanatical officers is illustrated by the conduct of Mir Abdul

1. E. & O., *op. cit.*, Vol. no. 184-85.

2. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-54.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 311-32.



Karim, Prefect of the City of Burharpur : he "increased the yield of the tax from Rs. 25,000 a year for the whole city to more than four times the amount in three months for half the city only (1882)."

The Emperor's attitude with respect to this special imposition was: "You are free to grant remissions of revenue of all other kinds; but if you seek any man's justice which I have succeeded with great difficulty in laying on the infidels, it will be an impious change (*khilaf*) and will cause the whole system of collecting the poll-tax to fall into disorder." So when thousands of Hindus gathered to remonstrate to the Emperor, he gave them an hour's time to depart, and then simply rode his elephants over their protest.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately the *shajra* was not the only levicious tax that the Hindus had to pay. "An order was promulgated," says Khif Khif, "excepting the commercial goods of Musalmans from tax throughout the dominions of Hindustan. But after a short time, upon the reports of revenue officers, and by recommendation of good and experienced persons, an order was issued that every article belonging to Musalmans, the price of which was not large should pay free; but that goods of value should pay duty. Goods belonging to persons were not to be troubled with duties. The revenue officers then reported that Musalmans had adopted the practice of dividing their goods into small parcels in order to avoid the duty, and that they passed the goods of Hindus in their names, and thus the payment of the *ashli* prescribed by the Law was avoided. So an order was given that, according to the Law, two and a half percent should be taken from Musalmans and five percent from Hindus."<sup>2</sup>

Sarkar gives a slightly different version of this discrimination, but the basic fact to be noted is that distinction was made between

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 256-57.

<sup>2</sup> See Khif Khif; E. & D., op. cit., p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> E. & D., op. cit., p. 255. "By an ordinance issued on 25th April, 1888," writes Prof. Sarkar, "the customs duty on all commodities brought in for sale was fixed at 2½ p. c. of the value in the case of the Hindus and 5 p. c. in that of Hindu vendors. This was called the *ashli* or duty, and must not be confounded with the *ashraf* or 10 per cent which all Hindus had to pay for the increase of their wealth, and the protection of which could, by the Quakic law, be spent on Muhammadans alone. On 26th May, 1887, the Emperor abolished the customs duty altogether in the case of Muslim traders, while that on the Hindus was retained at the old level." (Aurangzeb, IV, p. 215 and p. 216).

subjects on account of their religious creed. To be a Hindu was a disability.

In November, 1655, Aurangzeb issued a proclamation in Gujarat to the following effect:—"In the city and pargana of Ahmedabad (in Gujarat) the Hindus following their superstitious customs light lamps in the night of *Divali*, and during the days of *holi* open their mouths in obscene speech and kindle the *holi* bonfire in *chakras* and *harkas*, throwing into the fire the *lagget* of all people that they can seize by force or theft. It is ordered that in houses there should be no illumination at *divali*, nobody's *lagget* should be taken by force or theft and flung into the *holi* bonfire and no obscene language used." Although the regulation regarding *holi* was undoubtedly a wholesome measure, its being coupled with the prohibition of *divali* illuminations, it was calculated to excite Hindu popular resentment.

Similarly, in 1655, following the example of Feroz Shah Tughlaq in the 14th century, Aurangzeb also forbade Hindu *jalms* which, as Khafi Khān says, "on certain days countless numbers of Hindus, men and women of every tribe, assembling at their idol temples, where lots of copper change hands in buying and selling, and from which large sums accrue to the provincial treasuries."<sup>1</sup>

In 1671 it was laid down that all rent collectors in crown-lands ought to be Muslims. The provincial viceroys and *ilakhāns* were also called upon to dismiss their Hindu head-clerks (*qasids*) and accountants (*darwadars*) and to replace them by Mohammedans. And to crown all, in March 1685, all Hindus excepting Rajputs were forbidden to ride well-bred horses, elephants, or *palkis*, and to wear *gama*.<sup>2</sup>

#### Heavy Reaction

This arbitrary rule provoked even the weak Hindus to rebel, and a large crop of troubles sprang from this sowing of the dragon's tooth.

The first reaction showed itself in a series of peasant risings round about Mathura. "Some foolish attempts were made on the Emperor's life, but they were childish and ended in failure." In June 1685

1. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

2. E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 565.

3. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 328.

Qasī Abūl Mubārak was murdered by the disciples of a Hindu *śāṭha* named Udayar Bhāṅgī, as the latter had been imprisoned "for his seduction of men to false knowledge." As a result both the murderers and the *śāṭha* were put to death by order of Aurangzeb.

Abūl Naḥī, *ṣaḥib* of Mathura, had provoked the people by his destruction of a Hindu temple and the erection of a mosque on its site, in 1661-2. By order of Aurangzeb he had also forcibly removed, in 1666, the stone sailing presented to the Keshav Kūṭi temple by Dīrī Shāhī. Such acts became more and more frequent. Consequently, there was a rising of the Jit peasantry in 1668. In an attempt to put down the revolt under Goliā of Tilpat, Abūl Naḥī was shot dead on 10th May, 1669. Reprisals followed, and towards the close of the year, or beginning of 1670, the rich temple of Keshav Kūṭi was razed to the ground, and a mosque erected in its place. "The den of iniquity thus destroyed," writes Saḥī Māmūd Khān, "it owed its erection to Nār (Shī?) Singh Doo Bandola; an ignorant and depraved man. . . . Thirty-three Jats were executed on this work." Lawlessness increased and spread towards Agra, until Goliā Jāt's following numbered 20,000 strong. Finally, in one terrible engagement the rebel leader was taken captive and hanged to pieces: 4,000 of the victors and 1,000 of the rebels died fighting; 1,000, including Goliā's family, were executed, and forcibly converted with the exception of those who were proved innocent and released. During the campaign the Emperor, with admirable inconsistency, "humanely detached 200 horsemen to guard the crops of the villagers and prevent the soldiers from oppressing any of them and taking any child prisoner." Yet in March, 1670, Husam Aḥ Khān was "engaged in slaying and capturing the rebels, plundering their houses, withholding their families, and demanding their strong [road] fees."<sup>1</sup> Again, in June 1680, a *ṣaḥib* in the environs of Agra was obliged to lead an expedition against the Jits, and got killed in the attempt. As late as 1688, the irrepressible Jits once more raised the standard of revolt under Rājāh Kūṭi, and after his death under Chāṭman Jit. They carried on a desultory warfare until the end of Aurangzeb's reign, "and could not be subdued by that Emperor's decimated successors."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> K. & D., op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., op. cit., p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 186; for a fuller account of these and other rising disturbances in North India between 1660-1720, see Jadav: *Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 307-402.

The *Satubhik* (or followers of the True Name of God) were a strange sect with their stronghold at Narwal. **Social Rising.** (15 miles S. W. of Delhi). Ishwardin Nigur, a contemporary historian, has described them as "extremely filthy and wicked. In their rules they make no distinction between Hindus and Mussulmans, and eat pigs and other unclean animals. If a dog is stoned up before them, they do not show any disgust at it. In this and immorality they see no blame."<sup>1</sup>

In like manner the author of the *Mahabul Alomgiri* also fulminates against them :

'It is cruel for wonder that a gang of bloody, miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, weavers, tanners, and other lowly beings, braggarts and fools of all descriptions, should become so puffed up with vainglory as to cast themselves headlong into the pit of self-destruction. This is how it came to pass. A malignant set of people, inhabitants of Narwal, collected suddenly in white-units spring from the ground, at locusts descended from the skies. It is affirmed that these people considered themselves immortal; every liver was the reward promised to every one of them who fell in action. A body of about 1,000 had collected in the neighbourhood of Narwal, and were in open rebellion. Cities and districts were plundered. Their Kibis (leaders), considering himself not strong enough to oppose them, reported to the governor. The King resolved to exterminate the insurgents. .... The royal forces marched to the encounter: the insurgents showed a bold front, and although totally unprovided with the implements of war, made good use of what arms they had. .... The forces of Kibis fought with impetuosity, and crimsoned their talons with the blood of these desperate men.'

Khalif Khatib's more sober narrative gives other details.

'One of the remarkable occurrences of this year (May, 1872) he writes, 'was the outbreak of the Kibis devotions called *Satubhik*, who are also known by the name of *Mushik* (i.e. those sworn infidels). There were four or five thousand of these, who were householders, in the townships of Narwal and Mohana. These were among the devotes, but they nevertheless carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion they have dignified themselves with the title of "Good Name," this being the meaning of *Satubhik*. They are not allowed to accept wealth in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it. Many of them have weapons and arms.

'At the time Aurangzeb was returning from Hassan Abdal, a strong rebellion arose one day near Narwal, against a man of this sect, who was engaged in agricultural work, and a man who was keeping guard.

1. Cited by Berlin, op. cit., p. 226.

2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 186-87.

over the harvest. The latter broke the Sahader's head with his staff. A number of Sahaders then collected and beat the wallahs, so that they left him for dead. When intelligence reached the shikdar, he assembled his men and sent them to arrest these Sahaders. Numerous members of the Sahaders assembled. They attacked the shikdar's men, overpowered them, wounded several, and took away their arms. Their numbers went on increasing, and information was carried to Kaurish Khia, Jaspur of Narwal. . . . To shorten a long story, suffice it to say that after several fights the Jaspur was killed, and the town of Narwal fell into the hands of the Sahaders. They proceeded to collect the taxes from the villages, and established posts of their own. When the Emperor reached Delhi, he was informed of this outbreak, and he sent force after force to quell it, but they were all defeated and dispersed. It was said that rapids, arrows, and musket-balls had no effect upon these men, and that every arrow and ball which they discharged against the royal army brought down two or three men. Thus they were credited with magic and witchcraft, and stories were currently repeated about them which were utterly incredible. They were said to have magic warden horses like live ones on which their women rode as an advance guard.

Great rajas and veterans were sent against them with powerful armies.—But the rebels were eager for the fight, and advanced to about sixteen or seventeen kos from Delhi. The royal army went forth boldly to attack them; but the neighbours of the neighbourhood, and some cowardly Rajputs, seized the opportunity to throw off their obedience, and to withhold the government dues. They even broke out into open violence, and the flames daily increased. The King ordered his tents to be brought out. He then wrote some prayers and desires with his own hands, which he ordered to be worn on the banners and standards, and carried against the rebels. At length, by the exertions of Raja Bohan Singh, Harnai Khan, and others, several thousands of them were killed, and the rest were put to flight, so that the outbreak was quelled.<sup>1</sup>

The Sikh religion, founded by Bhai Nānak (1469-1539 a.d.), was the outcome of the impact of Islam on

The Sikhs.

Hinduism. In the words of Bhai Gurditta :

'Truth is hidden both from the Hindus and the Muhammadans; both sects have gone astray. But when they lay aside superstition they form one body of Sikhs.' The apostolate of the Sikhs, from Bhai Nānak, the founder, to Guru Govind Singh, the last Guru, consisted of ten leaders. Their total regime lasted from 1469-1708, i.e., almost exactly synchronous with the Great Moghals, from Babur to Aurangzeb. The second, Guru Arjun (1563-82), was a contemporary of Humayun (1556-56). The fifth, Guru Arjun (1606-1606), had become so important that, according to a system-

1. E. A. D., op. cit., pp. 284-91.

poetry, "The Emperor [Aibar] and kings bow before him. Wealth ever cometh to him.' We have already observed the fate of this Guru under Jahangir: his sympathy with the rebellious prince Khider ended in his virtual execution. His son and successor, Har Govind (1605-45), was cast in a similar mould. "I wear two swords," he said, "as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined." He had to undergo twelve years' confinement in Gwalior for his father's non-payment of the fine imposed upon him by Jahangir. Early in the reign of Shah Jahan (1628), Har Govind's piousness came into conflict with the Imperial hunting party. This led to military retaliation, in which the Imperialists were routed with heavy loss at Sangrām, near Amritsar. But finally, the rebellious Guru was forced to take refuge at Kottapur in the Kashmir Hills, where he died in 1645. Shah Jahan paid frequent visits to Har Rai, the seventh Guru (1646-61), and was blessed by him. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he called upon Har Rai to answer for this: but Har Rai only sent his eldest son Har Rai to the Imperial Court. The latter having fallen into the Imperial trap, was disappointed by the king, who subsequently, at the time of his death (in 1657), nominated his second son Har Khider successor. Har Rai thereupon contested the gift with the support of Aurangzeb. Har Khider was sent for, but death snatched him away in 1664. However, the shame of the Sikh community now fell on Tegh Bakhsh, the youngest son of Har Govind. In 1668 this new Guru appears to have sought in the Maghal ruler in the Assam war, under Purn Singh, son of Mirza Najib-ud-Daulah. But on his return to the Punjab, "he was drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzeb had raised by his policy of religious persecution. A soldier and priest could not remain indifferent while his creed was being wantonly attacked and its holy places desecrated."<sup>1</sup> So he threw himself heart and soul into the movement against forcible conversions that had been going on in Kashmir and other places. Such conduct was bound to arouse Imperial wrath sooner or later; and when that happened the Guru ended his life as a martyr.

1. Sarkar, *op. cit.* p. 354. The ~~story~~ of the above account is plagiarised from Ghalib, who quotes Khidr Khān to show that "Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents (*swamis*) for collecting the tithes and presents at the temples to be expelled from the cities."

There are different versions of the details of this tragedy. Prof. Barker says, "Taken to Delhi, he was cast into prison and called upon to renounce Islam, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then beheaded on a warrant from the Emperor."<sup>1</sup> According to McGregor, Togh Bahadur was sent for by Aurangzeb at the instigation of Ratan Rani, as a scurper of the Sikh gold; The Guru was told that unless he gave some explanation of his conduct, he should not be liberated. At length the Guru gave his answer, "Since you wish it, I will give the explanation required. I will place a written paper round my neck, which you cannot cut with a sword." Having said this, and written on a piece of paper, he tied it round his neck and then requested the emperor to order some one to cut it! The blow was given, and the head of the Guru rolled on the floor! The paper was then read and contained these words:—

"*Sir dya gur Sir na dya!*"<sup>2</sup>

Cunningham, on the other hand, writes: "Togh Bahadur followed the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and choosing for his followers the wastes between Harana and the Sutlej, he subverted himself and his disciples by plunder, in a way, indeed, that rendered him not unpopular with the peasantry. He is further credibly represented to have leagueed with a Mahomedan leader, named Adam Hissar and to have levied contributions upon rich Hindoes, while his confederate did the same upon wealthy Musulmans. They gave a ready asylum to all fugitives, and their power interfered with the prosperity of the country; the imperial troops marched against them, and they were at last defeated and made prisoners. The Mahomedan saint was banished, but Aurangzeb determined that the Sikh should be put to death." He was accordingly summoned to Delhi, where the incident described by McGregor took place. "Such is the narrative of a rude and wandering people," concludes Cunningham; "yet it is more certain that Togh Bahadur was put to death as a rebel in 1675, and that the stern and bigoted Aurangzeb had the body of the unbeliever publicly exposed in the streets of Delhi."<sup>3</sup>

Finally, V. A. Smith gives a flattering anecdote in this connection, for which, however, no definite authority is cited by him:

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-5.

2. *Id.*, "I gave my head, but not my secret."—McGregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, I, p. 87.

3. *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 32-4.

"According to a famous story he (Teg Behadur) was accused while imprisoned at Delhi of turning his gaze in the forbidden direction of the imperial female apartments. He replied to the charge by saying :

"European Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments, or at thy Queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the sea to tear down thy hangings (paddis) and destroy thy empire."<sup>1</sup>

Tegh Behadur, on his way to Delhi, anticipating his fate, had handed on the torch of hatred to his singular successor, Govind Singh. "Girding upon him the sword of Har Govind, he balled him as the Gaccon of the Sikhs. He told him he was himself being led to death, he counselled him not to leave his body a prey to dogs, and he advised upon him the security and the worth of *chhanga*." At the time of these happenings Govind Singh was only fifteen years of age. "The violent end and the last injunction of the party; Gaccon, made a deep impression on the mind of Govind, and in brooding over his own loss and the fallen condition of his country, he became the irresponsible foe of the Mohammedan nation, and conceived the noble idea of modifying the vanquished Hindoo into a new and aspiring people."<sup>2</sup>

We need not trace in detail the personal history and training of Guru Govind for the task he had set himself :<sup>3</sup> "In the heart of a powerful empire he set himself the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degradation and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, singleness of purpose, and enthusiasm of faith. Govind was equally bold, systematic, and sanguine : but it is not necessary to suppose him either an unscrupulous impostor or a self-deluded enthusiast. He thought that the minds of men might be wrought upon to great purpose,....and he believed the time had come for another teacher to arouse the latent energies of the human will. His memory was filled with the deeds of primeval men and heroes ; his imagination dwelt on successive disquisitions for the instruction of the world, and his mind was perhaps unhinged

1. *O. N.*, p. 484.

2. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-2.

3. The *Vichitra Ratna*, which forms the Tenth Part of the *Growth*, is an autobiography of Guru Govind Singh.



with a superstitious belief in his own sanctity destiny.<sup>1</sup> In short, Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and last of the Sikh Apostles (1675-1708), was one of whom it had been said : 'he could convert jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks.' He inspired his followers with the belief that 'where there are two Sikhs, there is a company of saints; where there are five Sikhs, there is God!' He made the Sikhs homogeneous by the abolition of all caste distinctions, and making them 'as free in matters of eating and drinking as a Mussulman.' "I shall make men of all four castes Kora," he said, "and destroy the Maghals." He drilled and disciplined his men into a body of fanatics. Indeed, as Prof. Sarkar has well observed : "If Cromwell's Ironsides could have been inspired with the Jesuits' unquestioning acceptance of their Superior's decisions on moral and spiritual questions, the result would have equalled Guru Govind's Sikhs as a fighting machine."<sup>2</sup>

To oppose Maghal Imperialism he assumed the outward insignia of his garrison. He lived in princely state, "kept a train of poets in his court, and made plenty of gold ornaments for himself and his family. His body-guards were provided with arrows tipped with gold to the value of Rs. 15 each; and he had a big war dress made in imitation of the Maghal imperial band."<sup>3</sup> But among fellow Sikhs he lived on terms of perfect equality. When he introduced the new baptism, to the great astonishment of his disciples, he received it in wet (?) at their hands! When he reorganised the Sikh community as the *Khalsa* (the pure, or God's own people), he gave them the appellation of *Sikhs* or *Kora*. They were always to wear the five *Ka* : *Kar*—long hair, *Karpas*—a comb, *Kirpan*—a sword, *Kach*—shoes, and *Kara*—a steel bracelet. The nature of the transformation is well indicated in the Guru's first address to his disciples : "Since the time of Bhai Mitrak," he said, "Cherem-pakul hath been customary. Men drink the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility; but *Khalsa* can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore, I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger and change my followers from *Sikhs* (disciples) to *Sikhs* (Kora)." Ever long he gathered together a formidable host of about 40,000 followers.

1. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-8.

2. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-6.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

He had for a long time to contend with the local chieftains and Rajas in Kashmir and the Punjab, then ultimately with the organized might of the Empire. In the course of these struggles, strongly reminiscent of the trials and tribulations, the fortitude and courage and determination of Sikandar Begra, he lost one of his sons in fighting, and two others gave their heads for the penalty for refusing to apostatize. On hearing of these losses the Guru associated a shako by his side, and exclaimed, "As I dig up this shako by the roots, so shall the Turis be exterminated." Of course he did not live to achieve this ambition. But as Cunningham truly points out, success is not always the measure of greatness. "The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectively raised the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty, although fatal, longing for social freedom and national ascendancy."<sup>1</sup>

The last act of Guru Govind breathing defiance was the letter he addressed to Aurangzeb, known as the *Zakir Nāma*. When the Emperor summoned him to his presence, he wrote to him declaring—

"I have not a particle of confidence in thee. I was forced to engage in the combat and fought to the utmost of my ability. When an affair smothered beyond the verge of diplomacy, it is lawful to have recourse to the sword. If thou come to the village of Kangra, we shall have an interview. Thou shalt not run the slightest danger on the way, for the whole tribe of Sikhs are under me. I am a slave and servant of the King of Kings, and ready to obey His order with my life. If thou hast any belief in God, delay not in this matter. It is thy duty to know God. He never defers thee to annoy others. Thou art seated on an Emperor's throne: yet how strange are thy justice, thine attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas! a hundred times alas! for thy sovereignty! Strange, strange is thy decree! Seek not any one mercilessly with thy sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O man, be not reckless toward God. He is the Emperor of earth and heaven. He is the creator of all animals from the feeble ant to the strong elephant. He is the Protector of the miserable and destroyer of the wicked. What though my four sons were killed? I remain behind like a mailed soldier! What heavey is it to spend a few spans of life! Thou art surely sucking a raging fire! I will not enter thy presence, nor travel on the same road with thee, but if God so will it, I will proceed against thee. When thou hast to thee my and words, I look to God's justice. Thou art proud of thine Empire, while I am proud of the Kingdom of the Immortal God. Be not heedless: thy coronation is only for a few days.

1. A similar anecdote is related of Chitkanya in the *Maandavi*.

2. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 122.

People have it at all times. Even though they are strong, away not the weak. Lay not the axe to the Kishore."<sup>1</sup>

The Emperor, indeed, left this caravanserai in a few days, and the prophetic Guru was saved for the time being. When Prince Mahender<sup>2</sup> was on his way to secure Aurangzeb's throne, Guru Govind joined him. In recognition of the service rendered by the Khalsa army, Bahadur Shah put Govind Singh in command of 5,000 horse. But during the campaign in the Deccan, whether Guru Govind had accompanied the Emperor, he was assassinated by a Pathan who had an ancient grudge to feed fat on him. This happened at Minder on the Gidderauri (120 miles north-west of Haidarabad) in 1708. With him ended the fifth Apostolate of the Ten Gurus. His constant desire had been

*Never be pleased to grant me the boon I crave with clasped hands ;*

*That when the end of life cometh, I may die fighting in a worthy battle !*

His last message to his followers was : " I have entrusted you to the Immortal God. Keep remain under His protection ; that no one besides. Wherever there are five Sikhs assembled, who abide by the Guru's teachings, know that I am in the midst of them.... I have infused my soul into the *Khalis* and the *Granth Sahib*. ... Obey the *Granth Sahib*. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who desireth to meet me diligently search its hymns."<sup>3</sup>

## RAJPUT RESISTANCE

Towards the close of fifth Jahangir's reign (1623-54 A.D.) Raja Jai Singh of Udaipur had made bold to Chhatrasen, emperor the walls of Chitor, against contemporary-superstitions since their destruction by Akbar. As the Sikh Jahangir has it :

" From the time of the late Emperor Jahangir, it had been notified that no one of the Raja's posterity should ever touch it ; but Raja Jai Singh, the father of Raja Jas Singh, having set about repairing it, had pulled down every part that was damaged, and built it up very

1. Abridged from *Remained to Ram Park (Chennai, Madras)* 29-125-27.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

strongly men.' Shah Jahan, when he came to know this, 'dispatched Adilshahi, with a large number of soldiers and munitions and 1,500 musketeers, amounting altogether to 20,000, for the purpose of hurrying on in that direction, and demolishing the Fort of Chitor. ... He also directed him, if perchance the Raja did not render his obedience, to convey his army with the royal forces, and inflict suitable chastisement upon him. The Raja having responded, 'On his arriving within twelve *kos* of Chitor, which is the frontier of the Raja's territory, inasmuch as the latter's negotiations had not yet been satisfactorily terminated, he commenced plundering and devastating, and depopulating his cattle on the way. On the 15th of Zi-l-Hijja this year, having reached the environs of Chitor, he directed working parties with pickaxes and spades to overthrow that powerful stronghold. Accordingly in the course of fifteen or fifteen days they laid its towers and fortifications in ruins, and having dug up and subverted both the old and the new walls, levelled the whole to the ground. The Raja having awoken from his sleep of hardness at the advent of the prosperous banner of Adilshahi, the formidable force of the royal arms, the dispersion of the peasantry, and the ruin of his territory, sent off a letter containing the basiliest apology to Court, along with his eldest son, who was in his sixth year, and a number of his principal retainers, in company with Shakh 'Abdul Karim, the Prince Bahadur Shah's *Mir-i-Begistan*. A *farman* was then issued to Jangnada-i-Milik ('Adilshahi), that since the fort had been demolished, and the Raja had sent off his son to Court, the pen of imprisonment had been drawn through the register of his delinquencies at the Prince Bahadur Shah's solicitation.'

Rajputana was at peace with the Empire for a quarter century since this happened. Raja Jorwant Singh of Lohi before Jodhpur and Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur) <sup>before</sup> commanded Mughal armies against the Marathas, as we shall see in a later section of this chapter. During the third War of Succession, the former had, indeed, fought against Aurangzeb at Dharmat, and betrayed him at Khajwah. But Aurangzeb finally won his case. The crafty Emperor, as Tod says, 'always preferred stratagem to the protracted issue of arms' and 'addressed a letter to Jorwant, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Gujarat if he would withdraw his support from Dilir, and remain neutral in the contest.' This was achieved through the mediation of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, after Khajwah and before Deccan (23d January—13th March, 1658). In spite of their good services, however, the two Rijas shared an equally disastrous fate. Aurangzeb suspected both of complicity

with Shivaji, and ultimately got rid of both by poisoning the one and sending the other "beyond the Attock to die."<sup>1</sup>

Sighs never ceased from Aurangzeb's heart, it was said, while Jauhar Singh lived. In the estimation of the immortal historian of *Milad-un-Nihān*: "The life of Jauhar Singh is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajpootana....Throughout the long period of two and forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Aurangzeb,... to his conflicts with the Afghans. Although the Emperor had a preference amongst the sons of Shah Jahan, estimating the hawk Durr above the crafty Aurangzeb, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own; and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all."<sup>2</sup>

The twenty-five years of Rajput anarchy, following the dismantling of Chitor, therefore, formed merely the calm before a storm.<sup>3</sup> The death of Jauhar Singh at Jaisalmer, on 20th December, 1678 was practically a signal for war. The valiant Rajput had been sent to fight the Afghans with the hope that he might not return. During his absence 'Mauzo' (Mithwar) had been left in the charge of Prithee Singh, Jauhar Singh's heir. Aurangzeb summoned Prithee Singh to his Court and at the end of flattering entertainment presented him with a poisoned 'dress of honour'—"That day was his last!" This bewitchment, together with the loss of two other sons at Katoel, hastened the death of Jauhar Singh who had been sufficiently worn out by the trials of the campaign. Before these trials were out Aurangzeb's plans regarding Jodhpur had already been set in motion.

The State being virtually without a head, and Jauhar's best troops away in Afghanistan, the Mughals had an easy way to everything. Muslim officers were at once appointed to the posts of *Rasuldar*, *Qiladar*, *Kotwal*, and *Amir* at Jodhpur. On 9th January, 1679, Aurangzeb himself set out for Ajmer to oversee opposition. On 3rd February, Khilaji Jahan Bahadur was despatched with a band of high officers "to scourge the country, to demoralise its ten-

1. Tod, *Rajasthan*, II, pp. 379-79 and 1287.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 379-80.

3. See "Origins of the Rajput-War (1679-81)" by Yashpal, I. H. Q., XVII, 4, Dec. 1941, pp. 430-41.

ple, and seize the late Mahadajah's property."<sup>1</sup> On 2nd April Aurangzeb returned to Delhi and took the momentous step of re-empowering the *Shajha*. Evidently he was flustered with the triumph of having subjugated Jodhpur, the rallying centre of militant Hinduism in the North. Next month Khidr-i Jahid returned to Court taking with him cart-loads of broken idols from Jodhpur to be trodden under foot by pious Muslims at the capital. To complete the work of humiliating Mirwar, the throne of Jamsat Singh was sold to the Chief of Nagur for 36 lakhs of Rupees, and the latter occupied it on 26th May, 1659, under Imperial escort.

Not soon a cloud appeared on the horizon. Two widowed queens of the dead Mahadajah had given birth to two sons at Lahore in February. Though one of these succumbed within a few weeks, the other lived to sit on his father's throne, at the end of a very romantic career. This was Ajit Singh the protégé of the heroic Durgadita, whom Tod describes as the Ulysses of the Sikhs, and whom the Rajputs still adore as the epitome of their chivalry :

"*Ek ! Mātā parat me jin  
Jana Durgadit !  
Bani Mowda nikho  
Jin dāwa jidā !*"<sup>2</sup>

"This model of a Rajput, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of its prince, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent and more difficult salvation."<sup>3</sup>

Aurangzeb, when he heard of the posthumous children, at once thought of capturing them. They were brought to Delhi, but the strategy of Durgadita saved Ajit Singh for Mirwar. The narrative of how it happened may be told in the words of Khidr-i Khān :—

"There was an old standing grievance in the Emperor's heart respecting Raja Jamsat Singh's tribute, which was appropriated by these posthumous proceedings of the Rajputs. He ordered the *Jawal* to take his own men, with an additional force obtained from the *mansabdar*, as well as some artillery, and to surround the camp of the Rajputs, and keep guard over them....."

1. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, III, p. 270.

2. *Ibid.*, op. cit., p. 282. "Oh, mother ! produce such sons as Durgadita, who first supported the dam of Mowda, and then propped the banner (without a pillar) !"

3. *Ibid.*

"Meanwhile the Rajputs had obtained two boys of the same age as the Raja's children. They dressed some of the female attendants in the garments of the rank, and taking every precaution that their stratagem should not be discovered, they left these persons and the boys under guard in their camp. The (real) rank, disguised as men, went off at night on charge of two trusty servants and a party of devoted Rajputs, and made their way with all speed to their own country. The brave and active chiefs, who might have stopped or overtaken them, were keeping guard over the tents in which the pretended children of the Raja were. After two or three gathies, when a report of the fact was made, some officials were sent to make inquiries, and it was repeatedly stated that the rank and the children were still there. Orders were then given for taking off the Raja's followers into the forests. The Rajputs and the disguised women, who were ready to fight like men for the honour of their Raja, made a determined resistance. Many were killed, but a party escaped."

"The flight of the rank was not clearly proved. (1) Some men, who wished to show their zeal, and to cover their negligence in the matter, asserted that the boys had escaped, and that the rank had sent out a force to pursue them. The Royal forces went to pursue twenty leagues from Delhi, but they could not overtake the Rajputs, and returned unsuccessful. The two (disguised) boys were given into the charge of the women of the royal harem, and were there brought up. The two boys whom the Rajputs carried off were for a long time neglected by Akbar, who refused to acknowledge that they were the sons of Jamsat, until all doubt was removed by the Raja of Chitor, who married Ajit Singh to a girl of his family."

The whole strategy had been planned and executed by Dughla, a son of Jamsat Singh's minister Ashtawa, Barua of Devaria. "Fighting against terrible odds and a host of enemies on every side, with distrust and wavering among his own countrymen, he kept the cause of his chieftains triumphant. Mughal gold could not seduce, Mughal arms could not crush that constant heart. Almost alone among the Rajputs he displayed the rare combination of the dash and reckless valour of a Rajput soldier with the tact, diplomacy and organising power of a Mughal minister of State." The other death-loving Rajputs, who immortalised themselves by staying the Mughal pursuit of the fugitives at every step, at the cost of their own lives, were Rajaurath Bharti and Rasehondhe Jodha. While the route from Delhi to Mirvat, up to the point of the passers' exhaustion, was being dyed with the blood of brave Rajput hands, the custodians of Ajit Singh reached Jodhpur with their precious

1. F. & D. op. cit., pp. 387-88.  
2. Sakar, op. cit., pp. 215-16.

charge (22d July, 1678). Mirwar quickly rallied round its infant king.

But Aurangzeb, ever successful in political jugglery, declared Ajit Singh a pretender, and proclaimed a milk-maid's lad of equal age, in his own custody, the real heir of Jaswant Singh. This Imperial ward was brought up in the Moghal Akram as a rival to Ajit Singh, under the disguise name of Muhammad Rājī. At the same time a strong force of Mussulmans was sent to Mirwar for the reconquest of that State. "Anarchy and slaughter were let loose on the doomed province."

On 30th September, Aurangzeb once again took up his headquarters at Ajmer. Prince Muhammad Akbar, who was now to play the rôle of Destiny, was put in charge of the campaign, with Tahawwur Khan, Jaiside of Ajmer, as second-in-command. The first street of the tragically opened with the slaughter of the brave band of Mahatma Khatons under Rāj Singh—the Leonidas of this Thermopylae—at the temple of the Sacred Bear, near Lake Pushkar. Thenceforth every house in Mirwar became a stronghold to be captured, and every hill-top a stubborn Howard De Wals. "Mirwar" was transformed into one vast arena of blood-shed, pillage, and devastation. Mosques stood like cathedrals on the sites of temples to proclaim the triumph of Islam in this Jerusalem of the Hindus. The sect was scattered though the bird had flown!

"As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Aurangzeb pour his barbarism over the land." It was indeed not a calamity for Mirwar alone, but an imminent danger to Mewar and other Rajput States as well. "The annexation of Mirwar was but the preliminary to an easy conquest of Mewar." Besides, the rage for temple destruction was not likely to be stopped by the Aurangzeb. Already the demand for Jizya had been made even from the Mahatmas. The Gandhis, therefore, had every reason to make common cause with the Bhillans. The fact that Ajit Singh's mother was a Minor Princess, made such a combination both easy and natural.



Mahabatesh Pahi Singh, accordingly, began preparations for the defence of Mithwa. He again fortified Chitor, and blocked the Deswarl Pass leading to his capital. But Aurangzeb was too experienced a general to await developments. He left Ajmer on 30th November, 1680, for Udaipur. Deswarl was occupied on 4th January, 1681. The Rajputs, finding themselves unequal to the enemy on the low lands, retired to the mountains, leaving even their capital deserted. So, Udaipur was occupied without much struggle. Its only defenders were in the great temple—"One of the wonders of the age and a building that had cost the infidels much money; but the Muslims made short work of them." This and three more temples of Udaipur met with the same fate. Hasan Ali Khan, the Mughal commander, desperately in search of the fugitives, found himself in a quandary for some time. The Rikha was, however, defeated on 12th January. No less than 175 temples in the environs of Udaipur, and 45 in Chitor, fell under the strokes of the enemy. His work thus accomplished, Aurangzeb returned to Ajmer on 12th March. Prince Akbar, with his base at Chitor, was left in charge of the rest. The Mughals had to pay dearly for this hasty retreat of the Emperor. Akbar was either too ill-equipped or too incompetent to meet the situation.

The Sikandars began to harass the enemy with the elusive tactics of guerrilla warfare. By May the Rikha inflicted heavy losses on the Mughals. "A few days later, the Rajputs carried off a convoy of Ambaras with 10,000 pack-men bringing grain to the prince's army from Mithwa." Bhat Singh, the Rikha's son, inflicted swift and sudden blows at unexpected points. "Our army," Akbar complained, "is motionless through fear!"

With this confession of defeat, Akbar was transferred to Mithwa. The Mithwa command was now entrusted to Prince Aram (26th June); the other two

Third Invasion  
of Mithwa.

Princes were merely to co-operate with him in delivering a three-fold attack: Aram from Chitor, Musammar from Rajamandir, and Akbar from Deswarl. The plan, however, miscarried.

Akbar took up his headquarters at Sojat (in Mithwa) on 15th July, 1681. But the situation became so perilous that the Prince only made a show of movement without any real action. At the end of September he shifted to Nalol, and on 18th November, under impatient orders from Aurangzeb, like 'the whining schoolboy, with

his mischief....creeping like snail unwillingly to school' (but without his 'shining morning face'), Akbar advanced up to Deccan. But the result of this pressure in an impossible situation was far from what Aurangzeb had ever desired of. The year 1681 dawned with treason on its brow.

On 1st January, Prince Muhammad Akbar donned the imperial robes, with the blessings of four *Mullahs* who

*Akbar's Revolt.*  
declared Aurangzeb deposed for 'violation of the Islamic Canon Law!'.<sup>1</sup> According to Khilfi Khin, Prince Muhammad was first tempted by the Rajputs, but he failed to respond to their seduction.

'When they captured success in this quarter, the Rajputs betook themselves to Prince Muhammad Akbar, taking advantage of his youth (he was only 25 years of age), and the favour of some of his *hazrat*-*chayts* *Dar* over their spokesman. He was won over among them for his pliability, and he used all his arts and wiles to persuade the Prince that they would supply him with forty thousand Rajput horse, and with abundance of weapons. This so dandled the Prince that he was debilitated, and several of his evil companions (Tahawwur Khin among them) artfully used their persuasions. So the inexperienced Prince was led away from the path of rectitude, and through his youth and covetousness he fell into the snare of the Rajputs.'<sup>2</sup>

Prince Muhammad turned Aurangzeb of this seduction, but he 'thought that Muhammad's letter about his brother Akbar was false calumny. Accordingly he wrote to him, and accused him of making a false charge, and saying that the *Muslims* would keep him in the right course, and preserve him from listening to the evil suggestions of despising people.'

But, 'soon afterwards the secret became public. Thirty thousand Rajputs under *Darpat* joined the Prince. The news spread from tent to tent, and was the talk of young and old. It was reported that he had accepted the throne, and that news had been struck in his name; that Tahawwur Khin had been made a *Kutubkhani*, and had received the title of *Ashraf* *amir*; that *Mullah* Khin and other great servants of State, who were with the Prince, had received distinguished honours, which some of them had felt themselves constrained to accept. The Prince was doing his best to win the affection of all, and was said to be marching against Aurangzeb.

'On the forces being sent off under the command of Prince Akbar, against the *infidels*,<sup>3</sup> Khilfi Khin explains, "only Asad Khin and a limited number of officers and men were left in attendance upon the Emperor. All his *valians*, consisting the *mansabs* and writers, did not exceed seven, or eight hundred horsemen." A great panic fell upon the

<sup>1</sup> Gulistan, op. cit., p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> E. & D., op. cit., pp. 303-4.

royal camp, and with confusion followed. A letter under the royal signeture was sent off in haste to Prince Muhammad Mahomet, urging him to come with all his army, and with the greatest haste, to Aurangzeb. ....The Prince obeyed the summons, and hastened to wait upon his father.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, there were a few important defections in the camp of the rebel Prince. Shihab-ud din Khan (father of the first Nizam of Hyderabad) was the first Muslim captain, after a hard two days' ride of 120 miles, to bring his brother Mirshid Khan from Aghar to Aurangzeb. Next was Aghar's right-hand man, Tahavver Khan, who was won away by a flattering letter from his father-in-law Ismail Khan (Aurangzeb's secretary). In a Tahavver Khan was promised a pardon for his insurrection, and telling reasons he was dissuaded that 'his women would be publicly outraged and his sons sold into slavery at the price of dogs.' (What a contrast to the conduct of Durgadiah, who, when Aghar was in flight, as we shall presently see, gave shelter to his family and provided for their education at the hands of Muslim tutors!) The tale of Tahavver, for all his villainous conduct, was terrible. When he reached Aurangzeb's camp, he asserted the dignity of a Muslim quarter to enter the presence without being dismissed. This insistence was looked upon with suspicion of designs on the Emperor's life. From words at last they came to blows. 'Murderers fell upon him, and he was soon killed, and his head was cut off.'<sup>2</sup>

However, this might have happened, says Khafi Khan, 'his murder caused great divisions in the Prince's camp, and among his Rajputs, and they were much disappointed.'<sup>3</sup>

Aurangzeb's Plan. At such a moment Aurangzeb, it is alleged, thought of a ruse similar to that designed by Sher Shah in his campaign against Mal Dev of Jodhpur: 'It was commonly reported,' says our historian, 'that Aurangzeb craftily wrote a letter to Prince Muhammad Aghar and contrived that it should fall into the hands of the Rajputs. In it he praised the Prince for having won over the Rajputs, as he had been instructed, and that now he should crown his services by bringing them into a position where they would be under the fire of both armies (viz., Aghar's and Aurangzeb's). This letter was the cause of great divisions among them.' In fact the plot egregiously succeeded, and Prince Aghar evoked one meaning to find himself deserted by his allies. The Rajputs discovered the reality too late. 'For all the mighty host which Prince Aghar brought against his father, the event was not drawn, and no battle was fought, but his army was completely broken. The Prince was now informed that the Rajputs had abandoned him. There remained with him only Durgadiah, two or three confidential officers of the Khan, and a small host of two or three thousand horse. Of all his old servants and men, there alone remained. He lost all courage, self-reliance, and

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 301.

2. Ibid., p. 321.

hope, and being steadily cut down, he took to flight.... Prince Muhammad Musamman was ordered to pursue him.<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the story of Akbar may be briefly told.

#### End of Akbar.

He made his way, in spite of being badly pursued, ultimately to the Court of Sambar at Bikaner in the South. There he was well received. Sambar's 'cousin Sahib' received him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *kos* from the fort Bikaner, and sent an allowance for his support.<sup>2</sup> But Anangpal had issued orders to 'Haji-Jahin Bohidar, Sahib of the Dakhin, and to all the *Amildars*, directing them to stop him, (Akbar) wherever he might come, to take him prisoner after if possible, if not, to kill him.' When 'the report also came that an army had been sent under the command of Ibrahin Khila to effect the conquest of Bikaner, Prince Muhammad Akbar... thought it advisable to make his way as best as he could to Persia.' He embarked in February 1607, in a ship hired at Malabar and commanded by the Englishman, Benda.<sup>3</sup> But unfortunately, 'through the stress of weather,' Prince Akbar was stranded upon an island belonging to the *Indians of Malabar*, who 'affected to treat the Prince with hospitality and respect; but in reality kept him under surveillance, and wrote to Anangpal offering to surrender the Prince for the sum of two *lacs* of *rupias* and for a *charter* exempting goods carried to the ships of Malabar from the payment of duty in the port of Siam. If Anangpal would send out of his officers, the *Indians* promised to give up the Prince.'

'Upon receiving this letter, Anangpal wrote to the officials of the port of Surat, directing them to act in accord with the proposition of the *Indians*.' But, in the meanwhile, the *Sahib* of Persia (the *commander* of the *Indians of Malabar*) directed the *Indians* to render up 'the Prince (his guest) to him without delay, or an army would be appointed to deliver him and punish the *Indians*. So perhaps the *Indians* delivered up the Prince to the *Sahib's* Officers.' He was received well in Persia, where he assumed the high ambition of invading India, as Humayun had done before him, with Persian assistance. But at Gamsir in Khurasan he died 'towards the close of the reign of Anangpal.'

'Akbar's rebellion,' as Prof. Sarkar has observed, 'failed to change the sovereign of Delhi, but it brought

Peace with Me-  
war.

unhoped for relief to the Mughlins. It dis-

concerted the Maghal plan of war at a time when their net was being drawn closer round his State and even his hill refuge had been proved to be not inviolable. Akbar's defection broke the cordon, and, by diverting all the en-

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 304.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 305. For Akbar's activities and disappointments in Malabar, see Sarkar, *Short History of Anangpal*, pp. 286, 289-290.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

4. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 306-6, 310-11.

trained Imperial troops here. Māruvat gave assistance called to Māruvat.<sup>1</sup> The valiant Rājā Pāij Singh had in the meantime died (22nd October, 1680) ; his successor, Jal Singh, was incapable of sustaining the struggle. Aurangzeb too now wanted to concentrate his attention in the South. Shāhujā's death in April, 1680, had given rise to both hopes in that direction. The flight of Akbar (10th January, 1681) and the consequent partial had debilitated the direction of the Imperial forces into the Deccan. Moreover, Santalaji had provoked him by giving shelter to the fugitive Prince. So, all things pointed to the expediency of peace in the North. A welcome mediator was found in Chhapra Singh of Bikaner who offered to hold the olive branch for either side.

Prince Muhammad Azam personally visited the Mahrattas on 14th June, 1681, near Bājarnadra, and the following terms were agreed upon between Māruvat and the Empire :—

1. In lieu of the tribute demanded from Udaipur, the parganas of Mandla, Pat, and Belver were to be permanently ceded to the Empire.
2. The Mughals were to withdraw all their forces from Māruvat territory.

Jal Singh was recognised as Rājā, holding the rank of 5,000 horse in the Imperial postrage. Two months later Jit Singh, the hero of Māruvat, entered Mughal service, was invested with the dignity of a Rājā and posted at Ajmer, for the year with the Bikaners continued till August, 1709.

This back-sliding of her ally did not affect the hostile attitude of Māruvat towards the Empire. For the Mahrattas there could be no peace until Ajit Singh was restored to the throne of his ancestors. Aurangzeb had, indeed, left for the South. But Mughal officers were still in charge of the State; the army of occupation was still an eyesore to Māruvat. The war of independence therefore, continued, until the death of Aurangzeb and the restoration of Ajit Singh.

Three definite stages may be marked out in this protracted struggle : (1) From 1681-87 it was entirely a people's war—kingless, leaderless and desultory; (2) 1687-1704 under Daulatā and Ajit Singh, who now assumed the leadership but could not, despite their victories, cast the Mahrattas from the sacred soil; and (3) 1704-9

1. Sakar, Aurangzeb, III, p. 428.

during which period, after much bloodshed and many reverses on both sides, the Mughal policy of greed and aggression completely broke down, and Mārwar recovered her national ruling dynasty.

Ajit Singh was still an infant and in sequestration; and Durgadas was away in the Deccan. But the Mārwaris continued to fight against the Imperialists in much the same manner as the Netherlands did against the Spaniards, or the Mārathas against the Mughals after the death of Shahjahan. They took refuge in the hills and out of the way places, and as one of their own bards put it: "An hour before sunset every gate of Mārwar was shut. The Muslims held the strong holds, but the plains obeyed Ajit. . . . The roads were now impassable. Their guerrilla methods rendered them impassable and at the same time useless to the army of occupation. Their deadliest tactics were to cut off the Mughal supplies."

The return of Durgadas from Muzishikara, in 1667, gave a fillip to the Rajput war of independence. A valuable ally was also just then gained in Dattaraj Hada of Bundi who strengthened the national army with an addition of a thousand horse. Though the great Hada chief died soon after, the united Bundi and Mārwar forces succeeded in driving away most of the Mughal outposts, and also raised Imperial territory almost to the gates of Delhi.

In 1680 Durgadas won a conspicuous victory over Shah Khân, the Governor of Ajmer. But in Shahjahan Khân, the Viceroy of Gujarat who was also now invested with the charge of Mārwar, the Rajputs found an adversary at once tough and subtle. With the help of the historian Isma'ili, a Mājar Brahmin who had served in Jaipur as revenue officer, Shahjahan Khân induced Durgadas to send away Akbar's daughter (his ward) to the Imperial Court (1684). It was then that fanatical Aurangzeb was exalted to the height of Rajput chivalry in contrast to his own bigotry: for Durgadas had not even neglected the education of his Muslim ward,—she had been enabled to learn the Mohammedan scriptures in the very stronghold of the infidels! But Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar was still in Durgadas's custody, and he was not restored until 1688, when Aurangzeb granted Ajit Singh the person of Jasraj, Sandesh, and Sivasa as his jage with a mansab in the Imperial army.

1. See also, *Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 296-97.

Though this might be looked upon as a humiliating compromise, it was highly expedient, and the two Rajput leaders only made use of it to gain time and opportunity for further advance. Durgidas himself was rewarded with the Jaiside of Patna and a reward of 5,000. This he kept until 1701-2, when he again rebelled. The opportunity was afforded by the succession of Prince Muhammad Azam as Viceroy of Gujarat. Durgidas set fire to his tents and baggage and immediately rode away towards Mithun with all his followers, by forced marches.<sup>1</sup>

With this event the Rajput struggle entered on its third and last stage. To his great chagrin, however,

3rd Stage: Durgidas found Ajit "impatient of advice, imperious in temper, and jealous" of his well-

merited influence in the royal council and popularity among his clansmen. The economic exhaustion of Mithun, too, was complete, and war-weariness had seized the Rajputs after a quarter century of incessant fighting. Once more, therefore, both Ajit and Durgidas faced the head of submission to the proud Emperor (1704-5). But the final opportunity came on the eve of Aurangzeb's death. The twin fighters had again risen in revolt when the welcome news of the Emperor's demise reached their ears. On 7th March, 1705, Ajit was again on the march towards his ancestral capital. Jaffer Kuli, the deputy Jaiside of Jodhpur, was soon captured, and the son of Jaganath Singh at last set on his father's throne. Durgidas's herculean labours had not been in vain!

### III. SOUTH INDIA

[When Aurangzeb marched South in pursuit of his fugitive son, Prince Akbar, he marched to his doom. The Deccan was to prove his graveyard; and when, in 1707, he was buried there, more things went under the stone than the body of the dead Emperor.<sup>2</sup> But before we come to the denouement of the great drama of Aurangzeb's life, we have to resume the tangle of South Indian history where we left it, viz., at the commencement of the fratricidal strife in 1657.

#### A. FALL OF THE ADIL-SHIS

On 4th October 1657 Aurangzeb retreated from Kalyani on account of happenings we have already narrated. The conquest of Bijapur was then deferred for more vital considerations. The

Investigation,

peace that had been secured by the Adil Shah, through the intervention of Daul with Shah Jahān, could not last, in the nature of things. The Bijapur ruler had promised to pay an indemnity of one crore of rupees and to cede the forts of Bidar, Kalyān, and Parandā. But no sooner than Arrangabā turned his back on the Deccan, it became clear that Adil Shah would not yield without further struggle. On 1st January 1688 Mir Jamsā returned to Arrangabā baffled in his attempts to secure fulfilment of the treaty with Bijapur. Then came Arrangabā's exposing neo-occupations in North India. The History of Bijapur in the interesting period is mixed up with that of the Marathas and is not relevant to our purpose here. We may, therefore, hasten to return the tragedy of the two Mohammedan Kingdoms of the south, viz., Bijapur and Golkonda; for, once we have finished with these, we shall be free to consider undistracted Arrangabā's last and fatal struggle with Mahrattas.

Jai Singh, who had been sent against Shirdi (about whom later), had, by June 1685, succeeded in concluding the treaty of Parandā detaching the Marathas from their alliance with Bijapur; nay more, he had secured from Shirdi, a promise to assist the Mughals with 7,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, under his own and his son Samshirji's leadership respectively, in the intended campaign against Bijapur. The Adil Shah was further weakened by the capture of his nobility (e.g. Muḥa Ahmad, a Mawla from Koonkan who occupied the second place among the Bijapur nobles), by profane bribery. Attempts were also made to induce Karā Shah to keep aloof in the coming struggle. Nevertheless, 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry from Golkonda threw in their weight on the side of Bijapur. Jai Singh had under him 40,000 Imperial troops, besides 2,000 Maratha cavalry and 7,000 infantry under Nantaji Palkar. The latter played a trust and weak bribe from both sides; and although, therefore, Jai Singh came within 12 miles of Bijapur before the end of December (1685), after fighting a series of futile battles he was obliged to retreat.

As Adil Shah II had made effective preparations for the defence. The regular garrison had been reinforced with 30,000 dauntless Karmāṭas, and the whole country around to a radius of 8 miles had been rendered a desert, so that the enemy might find neither shelter nor provisions. The result was that Jai Singh



had to retreat effecting worse than nothing. The campaign was a military failure. "Not an inch of territory, not a stone of a fortress, nor a place of indemnity was gained by it. As a financial speculation it was even more disastrous. In addition to thirty lakhs of Rupees from the imperial treasury, Jai Singh had spent more than a *lakh* of his own pocket. Profuse as Jai Singh's payments were, they were exceeded by the engagements he made on behalf of his master."<sup>1</sup>

In October 1658 he was ordered to return to Auranzeb; next March he was recalled to Court. In May 1657 he made over charge of the southern command to Prince Musamman and Jawant Singh. On 2nd July, 1657, the battle-hardened general died at Burhanpur on his way to the capital.<sup>2</sup>

Bijapur was no doubt saved for the time being. But the doomed city was a constant prey to civil feuds. Afghans, Abyssinians and Deccan Mughals vied with the Marathas in maintaining anarchy in the State. For the next ten years the Mughals carried on their depredations within the Adilshahi territory. "Looking collectively at the Mughal gains in the Deccan during the first twenty years of Aurangzeb's reign," observes Sarkar,<sup>3</sup> "we find that he had in 1657 annexed Kalyani and Bidar in the north-eastern corner of the kingdom of Bijapur; the fort and district of Pilsanda in the extreme north had been gained by battery in 1660; Shalpur had been acquired by treaty in July 1658; and now Maidurg and Kufburg were annexed. Thus, the vast tract of land enclosed by the Bhima and the Marathas eastwards up to an imaginary line joining Kufburg to Bidar (77° E. longitude) passed into Mughal hands, and the Imperial boundary on the south reached the north bank of the Bhima, opposite Rahargi, within striking distance of Bijapur city,—while south-eastwards it touched Malhad, the fortress of the western border of the kingdom of Golkonda."<sup>4</sup>

Adil Shah II died on 24th November 1672, and with him departed the glory of Bijapur. He was succeeded by his infant son Shikandar, a boy of ten, and a period of anarchy ensued which

1. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 148-9.

2. According to Akbari Chat and Sharnool, Jai Singh was poisoned by order of Aurangzeb.—See Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shahaj*, p. 215 and n. 12.

3. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

ended only with the extinction of the dynasty and the independence of the kingdom in 1686. The weakness and humiliation of Bijapur during this period are illustrated by the defection, to the Mughal camp, of 10,000 Bijapuris (Afghans, Deccani Muslims and Marathas), and the compulsory submission of the Sultan's sister Shahar Banu (Shahishahi Khan) to the Mughal harem. Thirsted of her family and people alike, this Princess left the city of her birth, on 1st July 1673, amidst the weeping of her near and dear ones, to enter the hated Sultan's seraglio.

Shahaji came to the rescue of distressed Bijapur with an army of 30,000 horse and provisions. He added the Deccan Campaign. Shah's Imperial territory between the Krishna and the Narmada, burning, slaying, and plundering on all sides. Durr Khan, the Mughal general despite great hardships, retaliated with more horrors in the Adil-shahi dominion. "The villages in his path were utterly sacked; all their men, both Hindus and Muslims, were taken prisoner for being sold into slavery; and the women committed suicide by jumping down into the wells with their children. . . . His next roamed about like a mad dog, slaying and looting with devilish equality needlessly inflicting unspeakable misery on the innocent peasants, and turning into a barren wilderness the region from Bijapur city southwards to the Krishna and onwards to the fort between the Krishna and the Krishna."<sup>1</sup> Despite all this, Durr Khan could effect no more than Jai Singh before him. On 21st Feb., 1680, he was recalled utterly discomfited.

Prince Muazzam's victory had proved a failure. His place was taken by Prince Azam to whom had been 15th Sept., 1680, married the Bijapur Princess above referred to. Aurangzeb wrote threatening letters to Sultan Iskandar to make his submission and to allow the Mughal troops to march through his territory against the Marathas. But the Bijapur Prince answered these demands as the Belghara did the Kaiser at the commencement of the Great War (1644). The result was the utter devastation of Bijapur.

The dissolution of the country all round and lack of supplies at first threatened the Mughal army with starvation. The price of corn rose at one time to Rs. 15 a seer! The army was in despair.

1. Ibid., 286-7.

But the courage and determination of Prince Azam stole them : "You have spoken for yourselves," he said to his officers. "Now listen to me. Muhammad Azam with his two sons and Begum will not retreat from this post of danger so long as he has life. After my death, His Majesty may come and order my corpse to be removed for burial. You, my followers, may stay or go away as you like." The council of war then responded as Bibar's men had done before Khirna.

The siege of Bijapur began on 1st April 1685. It dragged on for 16 months, till June 1686, when Aurangzeb appeared in person. A deputation of Muslim theologians waited upon him, remonstrating : "You are the orthodox believer, versed in Canon Law, and doing nothing without the warrant of the Qu'ran and the decrees of the theologians. Tell us how you justify this unholy war against brother Muslims like us." Aurangzeb silenced them saying, "Every word you have spoken is true. I do not covet your territory. But the infidel sun of the infernal infidel (Shamshul) stands at your elbow and has found refuge with you. He is troubling Muslims from here to the gates of Delhi, and their complaints reach me day and night. Surrender him to me and the next moment I shall raise the siege." On neither side was there sincerity. The siege went on.

On Sunday, 12th Sept. 1686, the Adil Shihis capitulated. At one o'clock in the afternoon the proud Sikandar Shih, the last of the Adil Shihis, went down before Aurangzeb in his camp in Basijpur. His subjects with train and harem-women lined the streets of Bijapur as he marched past. He was well received, but shown of his royal dignity. Sikandar was created in the Mughal poenage with the title of *Nizam*, and given a pension of one lakh of rupees a year. The victorious Aurangzeb rested in the Sultan's palace for a few hours, rendered thanks to God for his triumph, and arose from its walls paintings drawn in violation of the Qur'anic injunction not to vie with the Creator in depicting life. An inscription recording the victory was also put upon the famous cannon *Makk-i-mashit*. Devotion started at the city of Bijapur after this. Even the water seemed to dry up in the springs. Plague followed war and swept away more than half its population. Sikandar Sultan defeated, deposed, imprisoned (in the fort of Daulatabad for some time), died near Sitbel on 3rd April, 1700, hardly 52 years of age. According to his last wish, "his mortal remains were carried to Bijapur and there buried at the foot of the aqueduct of his

spiritual guide Shakh Faizullah, in a restless eagerness.<sup>1</sup>

### B. FALL OF THE KUTUB-SHAHI

The Kutub-shahi kingdom of Golkonda, though internally in no better condition than Bijapur,<sup>2</sup> had helped the latter, more<sup>3</sup> than once in the hour of trial. So long as Aurangzeb well-disposed with the task of extinguishing the Adil-shahi, he thought it at least expedient to treat with Kutub-shahi. But no sooner than his hands were free and strengthened by his conquest of Bijapur, he turned his earnest attention towards the annexation of the other Shia kingdom of the Deccan.<sup>4</sup> In the eyes of Aurangzeb the worst offence of Feroz Shah was his fraternising with Infidels. Shiroji, after his flight from Agra, in 1666, had received effective help from Golkonda in recovering his fiefs from the Mughals. In 1677 he had been again raptaciously removed at Haidarabad and promised an annual subsidy of one lakh of *hans* for the defence of his territory. Above all, the Belkhatra Mithana and Alama had been allowed to dominate the entire administration. Khafi Khan thus describes the condition that justified interference by Aurangzeb:—

"It now became known to the Emperor that Abul Hasan Kutub-shahi, Sovereign of Haidarabad, had entrusted the government of his kingdom to Mithana and Alama, two Infidels, who were little consider to the Mughals, and brought great and increased troubles from them. The King himself was given up to luxury, drinking and debauchery ... Aurangzeb having turned his attention to the conquest of Haidar-shahi, and the subjugation of Abul Hasan, he first sent Khafi Jahid Khatib.....After this, Prince Muhammad Miranmur with.....went and to effect the conquest of the country of Telengana.

Aurangzeb now sent Mirza Muhammad, the superintendent of his *plac-shahi*, to Abul Hasan Kutub-shahi; with a message to this effect: "It has come to our hearing that you have one very fine diamond of 150 carats in weight, with many other settings. We wish you to ascertain the value of these gems, and to send them to us for the balance of tribute due." But he told his survey confidentially that he did not want him to obtain the two diamonds, which he did not at all want, but rather to ascertain the truth of the well reports which had reached him.....Abul Hasan swore that he had no such gems, and that if he had, he would

1. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

2. For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 268-9.

3. The strained relations between Aurangzeb and Golkonda are reflected in some interesting letters; see "Golkonda Court Letters," *R. A. Asan. J. E. O. R. S.*, XXVII, pt. 4.

have been happy to send them without any demand being made for them... Such stress as his predecessors possessed had been sent to the late Emperor....

Prince Mohammed Ma'mun was desirous of avoiding actual war by all means in his power. He sent a message to Khalid-bek Khatib (the Khatib-bek commander), offering peace on the following terms: *Abul Hasan must express regret for his offences and ask forgiveness. He must remove Mithras and Akansa from the management of affairs, and place them in confinement. The purpura of Shiraz, Kish, etc., which had been taken by force upon unjust grounds, must be restored. The balance of tribute due must be forwarded without delay. The English agents at the Dakhla, in their jails, must answer questions, regarding the Imperial army. So preparations for battle were made on both sides.\**

When, however, Abul Hasan saw that some of his trusted aides deserted to the Mughals, he fled to the fort of Gok-bek, his refuge. Following him there was great destruction and plunder at Haidarabad. "Before break of day," writes our historian, "the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed, for in every part and rifled and maraud there were ten upon ten of money, wealth, carpets, horses, and elephants, belonging to Abul Hasan and his allies. Words cannot express how many women and children of Maudood and Haidar were made prisoners, and how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured, carpets of great value, which were too heavy to carry, were cut to pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was struggled for. Prince Shah Adil appointed officers (nazams) to prevent the plunder, and they did their best to restrain it, but in vain. The details of the army received orders to go with the Imperial chiefs, with an escort of four or five hundred horse, to take possession of what was left of the property of Abul Hasan."

Then, Khalid Khatib proceeds to tell us, a deputation came from

Abul Hasan to wait upon Prince Ma'mun.

A Truce.

"most humbly and earnestly begging forgiveness of the sins which he had and had not committed.... After a good deal of negotiation, the Prince took pity upon Abul Hasan and the inhabitants of the place. He accepted his proposals, upon certain conditions. A tribute of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees was to be paid; in addition to the usual annual tribute. *Mithras and Akansa, the two brothers, and the chief nazams of the army, were to be imprisoned and deprived of all authority. The fort of Shiraz and the purpura of Kish, and other districts which had been captured, were to remain in the hands of the Imperialists, and Abul*

1. *Muztashshah Jahid*; E. & O., op. cit., VII, p. 122.

*Hasan was to ask forgiveness of his officers from Aurangzeb.*<sup>1</sup>

While these negotiations were proceeding, 'some women of great influence in the Serem, without the knowledge of Akid Hasan, laid a plot for the murder of Ishikama and Akama.... Whilst the two doomed witches were proceeding from the Serim to their own houses, a party of slaves attacked them and killed them.' Many *Belissians* lost their lives and property on that day. The heads of the two brothers were cut off, and were sent to Prince Shih Alam by the hands of a discreet person.<sup>2</sup>

Shih Alam returned to Aurangzeb's camp at Sholapur on 7th June, 1686. Bijapur fell on the 12th September.

Saga of Golconda; 1687.

On the 28th January following (1687) the Emperor arrived within two miles of Golconda. The fort, surrounded with a strong granite wall over four miles in length and of great thickness, was further defended by 87 semi-circular bastions, 'each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing more than a ton.' Within it were mansions of nobles, barracks, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines, stables, and cultivated fields, and space enough to accommodate the whole population of Hyderabad in times of danger. The whole was encircled by a deep ditch 50 feet broad.

Regular siege operations were commenced on the 7th February, 1687. Aurangzeb's charge-sheet against the ruler of Golconda reads as follows:—

*'The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infants; oppressing and afflicting the harmless, virtuous, and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day; making no distinction between fidelity and falsehood, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; seeking obstacles not in defence of himself; most of obstacles to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cost a corpse upon*

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 330-31.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

the *Italy Book* is the right book of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men. No attention had been paid to them; moreover it had lately become known that a *Lat* of *Wangpang* had been sent to the wicked *Sambles*. That in his blindness and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the injury of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next!

Whatever the plea, Aungmyeth was determined to lock up Golconda. So, when Prince Shih Maeh showed indications to relent and intercede on behalf of Abul Hasan, he was ordered into the royal presence, his manservant and *hijrah* were confiscated, and he was imprisoned. It was seven years before Aungmyeth's successor recovered his liberty.

'Day by day and week by week, the approaches (to the fort) were pushed forward under the direction of Shihmah the First King, but they were encountered with great daring by the beleaguered under the command of Shakh Nizam, Muzaffar Khan Lari, otherwise called *Abdur Razak*, and others. The fighting was desperate and many were killed on both sides. . . . After one sharp engagement, in which a rally of the garrison was driven back with loss, Shakh Nizam, Shakh Nizam, and others deserted Abul Hasan, and came over to the besiegers, when Aungmyeth granted to them suitable rewards and titles.'

The siege continued for over eight months, the Maghals suffering heavy losses. Finally, when about 5 o'clock in the morning of 21st September, 1666, the Imperialists entered and captured the fort, it was treachery that decided the fate of Abul Hasan and not the military superiority of the Maghals. As *Khatib Khân* puts it, 'Several times the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls; but the watchfulness of the beleaguer frustrated their efforts; so they threw away their lives in vain, and the fortress remained unshaken. But the fortune of Aungmye at length prevailed, and after a siege of eight months, and ten days, the place fell into his hands; but by good fortune, not by force of sword and spear.'

Abdullah Pari, surnamed *Savlati Khân*, who was a fortune-hunting Afghan, and had successively broken

fall of Golconda with Bijapur and the Maghals, now did the same with Abul Hasan, and opened the

gates of Golconda for a bribe. In noble and heroic contrast to this petty fagging treachery stand the courageous loyalty of *Abdur Razak*, and the dignified non-chalance of Abul Hasan himself in the hour of utter discomfiture.

'Of all the nobles of Abul Hasan', writes KHALI KHAN, 'the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place, and who throughout sustained himself in an heroic manner, was Miratai KHAN Lari, or, as he was also called, *Nader Ruznah*. Springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by one or twelve followers, he rushed to the open space through which the Imperial forces were passing in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, like a drop of water falling into the sea, or an arrow of steel struggling in the side of the sea, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inexhaustible fury and desperation, shouting that he would fight to the death for Abul Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of wounds were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the Citadel without being brought down. He received cruel wounds upon his face alone, and the side of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded, and the one upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds, and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the horse, and by great exertion kept his seat.'

When at last he was borne down by sheer exhaustion, *Abdur Raznah* was picked up unscathed by the Imperial officers. 'A little bird made the matter known to Auzangzeb, who had heard of *Abdur Raznah's* energy and courage and loyalty, and he graciously ordered that one surgeon, one a *Borobori*, the other a *Hinda*, should be sent to attend the wounded man, who was to make daily reports of his condition to Auzangzeb. The Emperor sent *Mahmud KHAN*, and told him that if *Abdul Hasan* had possessed only one more servant devoted like *Abdur Raznah*, it would have taken much longer to subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had counted seventy wounds, besides the many wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye was not injured, it was probable that he would lose the sight of both. They were directed carefully to attend to his ears. At the end of sixteen days, the doctors reported that he had opened one eye, and spoken a few faltering words expressing a hope of recovery. Auzangzeb sent a message to him, forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send his eldest son *Abdul KHAN* with his other sons, that they might receive suitable rewards and honours, and return thanks for the pardon granted to their father, and for the wounds and other favours. When this gracious message reached that devoted and pious hero, he gaped out a few words of surprise and gratitude, but he said that there was little hope of his recovery. If, however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service; but should he ever be capable of service, he felt that no one would ever enter the cell of *Abul Hasan*, and had shined on his body, could enter the service of King *Auzangzeb* (*Auzangzeb*). On hearing these



world, a cloud was seen to pass over the face of this bishop; but he kindly said, "What he is quite well, let me know." None of Abdul Kazzam's property had been plundered, but such as was left was given over to him.

"[The account given by Khalf Khalf is true, the last King of Golconda, whatever his other shortcomings, acted with a composure and dignity worthy of the master of such a servant. When he heard that all was over, 'He went into his harem to comfort his women, to ask pardon of them, and take leave of them. Then, though his heart was sick, he controlled himself, and went to his reception room, and took his seat upon the musnad and waited for the coming of his unbidden guests. When the time for taking his meals arrived, he ordered the food to be served up. As Bahadur Khan and others arrived, he related them all, and never for a moment lost his dignity. With perfect self-control he received them with courtesy, and spoke to them with warmth and elegance. . . . Abul Hasan called for his horse and accompanied the sultan, carrying a great wealth of pearls upon his neck. When he was introduced into the presence of Prince Muhammad Azim Shah he took off his neck-lace of pearls and presented it to the Prince in a most graceful way. The Prince took it, and placing his hand upon his neck, he did what he could to console and encourage him. He then conducted him to the presence of Aurangzeb, who also received him very courteously. After a few days the Emperor sent him to the fortress of Daulatabad, and granted a suitable allowance for providing him with food, raiment and other necessaries. Others were appointed to take possession of Abul Hasan and his soldiers.

The property of Abul Hasan which was recovered after its dispersion amounted to eight two and fifty-one thousand Rupee, and two thousand and fifty-three thousand rupee, altogether six thousand, eighty four and ten thousand rupee, besides jewelry, trinket articles, and vessels of gold and silver. The total in dawa was one arb. fifteen kharab, sixteen hazaar and a fraction, which was the sum entered on the records.<sup>1</sup>

**2. Government with the Individuals**

In hastening with the fall of Bismarck (1890) and Cobden (1865) we anticipated the history of half a century. During this

1 100 100 100 100

period the seeds of a mighty power were sown that was to prove fatal to the Empire whose history we have been tracing. Shihajji's capture, in 1638, before the joint forces of Kholi-sanda, the Imperial officer, and Ranaoda Kholi, the Bijapur commander, was indeed an act of expedience. This combination between the Empire<sup>1</sup> and the Adil-shahi, as we have already seen, was not to last long. The Maratha-child that was to arise between these two powers was so placed geographically that it could successively bargain with either to the final discomfiture of both. Shivaji, the embodiment of this new power, though he did not live to witness the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda, had, while making use of both against the Moghals, so harassed them that their fall was only a question of time. The history of this period taken in all its phases is very complex and intriguing. But we shall narrate here only such parts of it as have a direct bearing on our principal theme. It would be convenient to study the Moghal-Maratha relations from the angle of Maratha leadership, which is the only way to avoid confusion. The rest of Maratha history is not relevant to our purpose.

The personal history of Shihaji, father of Shivaji, need not

1. Shihaji : details are long. *Wakhat-i-Hind* (Lahore introduction) has to us in the following passage :—

"Mirza-i-Mulk was in confinement in the fort at Gwalior, but released Salim, and other nobles of Mirza-i-Mulk, had found a boy of the Mirza's family, to whom they gave the title of Mirza-i-Mulk. They had got possession of some of the Mirza's (Ahmadnagar) territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government. Now that the Emperor (Shah Jahan) was near Dehli, he determined to send Khawasanda, and Shajran Khan, at the head of three different divisions, to punish these rebels....." The symbol of the whole campaign was that Shihaji finally submitted with the young Mirza. "He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khan and the Imperial power....Accordingly the forts of Juner, Tindol, Tilghat, Maru, Jethan, Ind, and Harwar, were delivered over to Khawasanda....Ranaoda, under the orders of Adil Khan, placed the young Mirza in the hands of Kholi-sanda, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Shihaji."

Shihaji's estate at this time, held under the Adil Shah, consisted of the Poona district, "from Chikkar to Indrapur, Supri, Shirval, Wai, and Jalga; or a tract bounded on the west by the Ghats, on the north

1. *Asiatic Researches*; E. & O., 4th ed., pp. 32-3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

by the Ghod river, on the east by the Hidesa and on the south by the Mira river.<sup>1</sup> This was the nursery, seedbed or nucleus of Shivaji's future power and greatness.

1646 was a year of crisis in the history of Bijapur: it was also the year of Shivaji's opportunity. He seized Toran and its treasure of two lakhs of Rupees, and then raised east of it built a new fort called Bijapur's. Further conquests, all in the Bijapur territory, followed, leading to Shivaji's imprisonment as a hostage. Shivaji in his distress, approached the Mughal prince Murad Bahadur to secure the release of his father. There was some diplomatic correspondence between prince Murad and Shivaji on the matter, in the course of the year 1646. Through whatever agency Shivaji was released at the end of that year, and Shivaji kept quiet till 1655. During the latter year he captured Jivhi from the Moths, which considerably added to his power.<sup>2</sup>

Shivaji's activities are thus characterised by the local historian Khatu Khán:

'He was distinguished in his skills for courage and intelligence; and for swift and victory he was endowed a sharp use of the sword, the bow, of lance. In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky, and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode..... Adil Khán of Bijapur was attacked by sickness, under which he suffered for a long time, and great confusion arose in his territory..... Shivaji seeing his country left without a ruler, boldly and wickedly stepped in and seized it, with the possessions of some other Hyabads. This was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants have spread over the rest of the Konkan and all the territory of the Deccan.... He assembled a large force of Maratha soldiers and plunderers, and set about reducing the same.... Toll days fell upon the kingdom of Bijapur in the time of Sikandar Adil Adil Khán II, whose legitimacy was questioned, and who ruled when a minor in the hands of some of his ladies. The operation of Aurangzeb against that country when he was

1. Sachin, Shivaji, p. 21.

2. Sarkar claims Shivaji's release was secured by the friendly mediation of Hasan Khán and the aid of Bhandula Khán, two leading nobles of Bijapur, and not by the intervention of the Mughal Emperor or Prince Murad—*ibid.*, pp. 46-1.

3. 'The dissolution of April not only opened to Shivaji a door for the conquest of the south and the west, but brought a very important accession to his strength, in the form of many thousands of Maratha warriors from among the subjects and former retainers of Chandra Ráo. In short, his recruiting ground for those excellent fighters along the Sahyadri range, was now doubled. The Moths had accumulated a vast treasure in eight generations of unbroken and expanding rule, and the whole of it fell into Shivaji's hands.'—*ibid.*, p. 47.

a Prince in the reign of his father, brought great evil upon the country and other troubles also arose. Shivaji day by day increased his strength and subdued all the forts of the country, so that in course of time he became a man of power and means....He took several forts also in those parts, so that altogether he had forty forts all of which were well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Boldly raising his standard of rebellion, he became the most noted rebel of the Deccan.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, the same sharp critic does not fail to add, 'But he made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any sex. Whenever a copy of the sacred Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Muhammadan followers. When the women of any Hindu or Mohammedan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until the relations came with suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of his master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, *Pace-Siyah* (copper money), and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them; but other articles, gold and silver, jewels or unjewels, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the plunder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Shivaji's Government.'<sup>2</sup>

Shivaji for a long time kept peace with the Mughals either because he did not feel strong enough to antagonise the Empire and Bijapur at the same

(1) *First Chh. with the Mughals.*

time, or because of the vigilance of Aurangzeb's viceroyalty of the Deccan. When, however, on the death of Muhammad Adil Shah (4 Nov. 1656), Aurangzeb began to mobilise for an attack on Bijapur, Shivaji offered to join the Imperialists on certain terms: evidently the legitimisation of his usurpations in Bijapur territory. But Aurangzeb hesitated, and when the war broke out, Bijapur was over Shivaji to its own side.

In March 1662 two of Shivaji's Maratha officers raided the Mughal territory and "caused devastation and alarm to the very gates of Aklbadnagar, the most catholic city in Mughal Deccan,"

<sup>1</sup> J. E. B. D. op. cit., VII, pp. 226-62.  
<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 280-82.

While Shirdji himself stole into Junnar city, slaughtered the guards, and carried off 500,000 *dan*, 500 horses, besides jewellery and rich clothing. Aurangzeb sent Nasir Khān after Shirdji ordering him to "pursue the Marathas and extirpate them." The vigorous measures that were being taken were interrupted, first by the rising tension, <sup>1</sup> and then by the War of Succession occasioned by Salik Jahān's illness in September 1687. Bijapur made peace with Aurangzeb before he left for the north, and Shirdji also followed suit. In reply to Shirdji's embassy Aurangzeb wrote diplomatically: "Though your offences do not deserve pardon, I forgive you as you have repented. You propose that if you are granted all the villages belonging to your home (i.e. Shirdji's old *dhik*) together with the forts and territory of Kānsur, after the Imperialists have seized the old *Nāikā-shahī* territory now in the charge of Adl Shāh,—you will send Sona Pandit as your envoy to my Court and a contingent of 500 horse under one of your officers to serve me, and you will protect the Imperial frontiers. You are called upon to send Šonshī, and your prayers will be granted."<sup>2</sup> At the same time he wrote to Mir Junda and Adl Shāh: "Attend to it, as the son of a dog (meaning Shirdji) is waiting for his opportunity." Poona was also fortified as a base of operations against Ponnā. But the Succession War of 1688-89 gave Shirdji the needed respite, so far as the Mughals were concerned. It was during this period that the tragedy of Alau Khān, the Bijapur general sent against Shirdji, took place at Pandhargah. The controversy that has raged round this incident need not distract us here.<sup>3</sup> Our next incident is that relating to Shayista Khān.

Greatly encouraged by his triumph over Alau Khān, Shirdji continued his activities on all sides. Aurangzeb after his second operation (July 1688) had appointed his uncle Shayista Khān, victory of the Deccan. He now directed him to punish Shirdji and put him down. 'Amīr-i amara (Shayista Khān), according to Khudī Khān, "marched, in accordance with these orders, from Aurangabad at the end of *Awwal*-ul-mawad 1070 (and of January, 1689 A.D.), towards Ponnā and Chāhuri, which in those days were Shirdji's places of abode and assembly."<sup>4</sup> At the same time Shirdji

1. Mirza Asāf, Letter 5—cited by Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

2. See Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82.

3. E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 381.

Jachar (now made Salabat Khan) launched another offensive on behalf of Bijapur from the north against Shivaji, and invaded Panhala (May, 1686). Though Jachar proved 'both fool and traitor' in letting Shivaji escape from Panhala, another Bijapuri force followed up and took Panhala 'in a trichick'. It was at the scene of this flight of Shivaji from Panhala to Taligao<sup>1</sup> that the brave Bijl Prabhu (Deshbhadra of Maratha renown) fought his heroic rearguard action at the Thermopylae of Malabarwar and died with his brave seven hundred! Where

'Death clamoured, and tall figures stored the ground  
Like trees in a cyclone.'<sup>2</sup>

Shayista Khan, too, relentlessly pursued his campaign. But, 'the daring footbooster Shivaji ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage of Aurangzeb's army wherever they met with it. When the *Amir* was informed of this, he appointed 4000 horse, under experienced officers, to protect the baggage. But every day, and in every march, Shivaji's Dehshis swarmed round the baggage, and falling suddenly upon it like Comanches, they carried off horses, camels, men, and whatever they could secure, until they became aware of the approach of the troops. The Imperial forces pursued them, and harried them, so that they lost courage, and giving up fighting for flight, they dispersed. At length they reached Pasa and Shikar, two places built by that dog (Shivaji). The Imperial forces took both these places and held them.' The next great fortress to be captured after a great struggle was Chittan (Aug. 1686) which was of considerable strategic importance to the Mughals in covering the retreat to Ahmadnagar. Then followed desultory warfare during the years 1681-83, ending with the famous coup of Shivaji on Shayista Khan's camp in Poona on 5th April 1683. On this occasion, says Prof. Sarkar, "Shivaji dealt a masterly blow at the Mughals,—a blow whose consequences of design, swiftness of execution and completeness of success created in the Mughal Court and camp a such terror of his prowess and belief in his possession of magical powers, as his coup against Afzal Khan had done among the Bijapuris. He surprised and overpowered the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan in the heart of his camp, in his very bed-

1. *Ashvadeha Ghosha, Bijl Prabhu*. In this ballad, however, the poet has changed the spelling of the name.

2. *Shah Jahan, E. & Co.*, no. cit., pp. 251-2.

chamber, within the inner ring of his body-guards and female slaves.<sup>1</sup> The details of this incident are only of legendary interest. The curious reader may find the Muslim account in Khāf Khān's narrative<sup>2</sup> and the Mughal version, in the *Sulhānā* or *Chahār Nāmah*.<sup>3</sup> But there is one aspect of it which is worthy of being pointed out here, viz., the part played by Rājā Jaiwant Singh.

Comte de Ganda, a Portuguese biographer of Shāhjī, who wrote his account in 1695, states :

"Jaiwantpingsa gave a Gentle Savage took advantage of this (art) for he was a (Hindu) and sent him one night a rich present of precious stones, a large quantity of gold and silver with many rich and precious jewels. With these marvellous treasures Savage fought and subdued that fortress. The message was as follows : "Though Your Highness has the greatness of a Sovereign King and (now) also that of the General of so powerful an Empire, if you reflect that I am a Gentle like you, and if you take account of what I have done, you will find that all I have done, was due to the zeal for the honour and worship of your gods whose temples have been destroyed everywhere by the Muslims. If the cause of religion have precedence over all the gods of the world and even over his (his) self, I have but the same cause cited mine so many times. .... I offer you in the name of the gods themselves these tidings. I do not ignore that (a person of) your high rank has, his honour and loyalty, to defend those whose salt and water you eat and drink. I know, moreover, that you hold the right of the Great Mogul and cannot, on that account, take the side of another, but you may so behave that you will not fail in the loyalty professed by your illustrious family (ancestors) as in the respect due to your gods that I may join with the people of Surugshan, in the able to do as I like (you are under the command), and to do so like, without the knowledge of the Muslims, what I can."

"Jaiwantpingsa was less devout and more ambitious and as did not stand to these temples; he was much obliged for the presents and still more for the promises for which he confederated with Savage promising not to obstruct his cause and even to assist at what he might design against the Muslims."

The European version of the Shajista Khān incident is contained in the sequel to the above passage (pages 68-70). "When this occurrence," says Khāf Khān, "was reported to the Emperor, he passed orders both upon the Amir and Rājā Jaiwant. The Subahdār of the Delhī and the command of the forces employed

1. *Sarfaraz*, op. cit., p. 32.

2. *K. & P.*, op. cit., pp. 266-71.

3. See *Shah Jahānshāh*, pp. 158-59.

4. See *Portuguese Biographies of Shāhjī*, pp. 68-6. Cf. *Manuel, storia do Afonso II*, p. 134.

against Shirdji was given to Prince Muhammad Mahum. The *Andul* answer was needed, but a subsequent order (1st December, 1655) sent him to be *Subadar* of Bengal. Mahum's *Jawant* was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.<sup>1</sup> Does this imply *Jawant* Singh?

During the period of the change of viceroys and *subadars*,

Shirdji indulged in another adventure, viz., a  
(iii) For lack raid on Surat, 'the greatest emporium of the  
of Surat. Orient and the richest jewel of the Mogul.'<sup>2</sup>

His object in doing this was, according to de Caeste, 'to plunder the riches of the wealthiest city of the east; to show Southampton and the Mogul how little he thought of their power and army.'<sup>3</sup> The same writer tells us, 'some confused news of his invasion reached Sarate but caused a great laughter as hundred and eight thousand cavalry were encamped in the very territories of which Shirdji had become master.' The *Miradars*, however, entered like 'a furious tiger in a herd of cows.' 'There was such a confusion in the city among the *Miradars*, *Banoras*, *Qasabars*, and all other Hindus as will not be easy to describe. Men, women, and children ran naked without knowing where and to whom. But no one was in the peril of life, for it was the strict order of Shirdji that whose resistance was offered no one should be killed, and no one robbed more perished.'<sup>4</sup> Shirdji's men then entered the houses and alighting the richest silk and silver cloths, took only rupees of gold, each of which was worth sixteen of silver. . . . Neither the quantity of money he got nor the speed with which it was conveyed by 500 bullocks is credible.'<sup>5</sup>

M. de Thevenot observes, 'Shirdji's Men entered the Town and plundered it for the space of four days burning several Houses. None but the English and Dutch saved their quarters from the pillage, by the vigorous defence they made, and by means of the cannon they planted, which Shirdji would not venture upon, having none of his own.'<sup>6</sup>

The Mughal governor of Surat, Inayat Khan, shut himself up in the fort; and 'the governor's men continued to fire all night

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 271.

2. *Compte de Caeste* in *Sat*, op. cit., p. 72.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

4. For contrary accounts see *Sarfar*, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

5. *Sat*, op. cit., pp. 74-5.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 778.



long, but more damage was done to the town than the enemy.... Everything of beauty existing in Surat was that day reduced to ashes and many considerable merchants lost all that the enemy had not plundered, though this terrible loss, narrowly escaping with their lives. Two or three Russian merchants lost several millions and the total loss was estimated at 20 millions. ....He (Serdar) and his followers appropriated only the most valuable spoils and distributed the less valuable things, which could only hamper their retreat, among the poor, whereby many acquired much more than they had lost through fire and pillage. ... (Serdar) departed at the first gleam of daylight, delighted to have plucked such a fine feather from Aurangzeb's tail.<sup>1</sup>

#### AFTER THE SACK

The Governor of Surat reported the above-mentioned incident to the Great Mogul in such a manner that when it was read and heard it seemed worse than it (actually) was. As the advantage, the Great Mogul derived from Surat, was enormous, and the Governor had informed him that all was lost and the merchants were arranging for a change of place on account of the want of security of Surat, he resolved to remedy everything by sending an army that would totally destroy Serdary and drive the merchants. He ordered that they should be excused duties for three years (?) during which period nothing should be paid for import or export. This exceeded and relieved all, for it was a very great burden in view of the large capital employed by these Gentles in trade. The wealth of these people is so great that when the Great Mogul sent for a loan of four millions to Bessier Desmarchais Vasson, he answered that His Majesty should name the coin and the sum would immediately be paid in it. There are in Surat the following coins; rupee, half and quarter (pieces) of gold, the sum of silver. There are pagodas of gold and silver of silver, and in any of these eight (coins) he offered to render four millions. What is still more surprising is that the major part of the Governor's capital was devoted at Surat and Ahle (after) was (made) four years after the sack by Serdary. So much had already been accumulated and no consideration had been the profits of those three years when no tax was paid. The Mogul usually repays such loans with the same, and it is done with great punctuality that he pays for the same asking whatever sums he wants, for the subjects deliver their money in accordance with the degree of satisfaction that they get from the Mogul.<sup>2</sup>

In a letter to the Director of the Dutch East India Company, dated 4th August, 1664, their Governor-General states: 'King Orangzeb has ordered the town of Surat to be surrounded by a

1. See, op. cit., François Visschers's account, pp. 260-61.

2. *Ibid.* (Compte de Gouda), pp. 294-5.

stone wall and has granted a year's exemption of tolls and duties to the merchants, the Company and the English being also included. This exemption was to begin from March 16th 1603, and we calculate that the Company will then gain a sum of £ 55,000 (£4,300) so that this enterprise has brought us profit.<sup>1</sup>

The Governor Juyet Khân was rejoiced by Ghilash-Tân Khân. Shajji had arrived in Surat at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 8th January 1604; he left the place at 10 a.m. on Sunday, the 10th. 'Thursday and Friday nights,' says our account, "were the most terrible nights for fire. The fire turned the night into day, as before the smoke in the day-time had turned day into night, rising so thick that it darkened the sun like a great cloud."

These activities of Shajji alarmed Anangub who at once despatched able generals to battle with him. (iv) Treaty of Peace. Khâf Khân writes, 'Despatches arrived from Prince Musunim to the effect that Shajji was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jwal, Pâhal and others near Surat, and attacked the pilgrims bound to Mecca. His back-bait spread forth by the sea-shore, and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse. He had also struck copper coins (shikâ-i-jâl) and *Asas* in the fort of Bâlgarh. Mîrâzâ Jamsat had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail. Bâiz Jai Singh (and Dâr Khân) were sent to join the armies fighting against him.'

This was indeed hard time for Shajji for both Jai Singh

1. The Dutch losses amounted to £ 25,000 (£1,700). *Ibid.*, pp. 291-2.  
 2. "Jai Singh's career," writes Barker, "had been one of unqualified brilliancy, from the day when he, an orphan of twelve (soon he was 20), received his first appointment to the Mughal army (1601). Since then he had fought under the Imperial banner in every part of the empire, from Balûch in Central Asia to Rajpoot in the Deccan, from Candahar in the west to Bengal in the east... In diplomacy he had attained to a height surpassing even his victories in the field. Whenever there was a difficult or delicate work to be done, the Emperor had only to turn to Jai Singh. A man of infinite tact and sagacity, an expert in the numerous courtesies of the Mughals, a master of Urdu and Persian, besides Urdu and the Rajpoot dialect, he was an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajpoots and Hindustanis, that followed the various banners of the emperors of Delhi.... His knowledge and patient coping, his unswerving of courage and cool calculating policy, were in striking contrast with the impulsive generosity, reckless daring, blunt straightforwardness, and heroic chivalry which we are apt to associate with the Rajpoot character."—*ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

and Dhill Khidr<sup>1</sup> were veteran generals and had come with an iron determination to subdue him. Jai Singh organized a widespread campaign so as to encircle Shirdji from every possible quarter. In this he tried to secure the co-operation of Adil Shah, the Rumpoon on the west coast, the petty rulers and chieftains, the British, and also tried to corrupt Shirdji's supporters. The heart and centre of this mammoth design was to capture Panvelkar where Shirdji happened to be at this time.

"When he (Jai Singh) arrived there," writes Correa de Gouvea, "Even Serfger could not help being frightened, for besides the 400000 cavalry, the number of men and animals that followed them (Mughals) armies, could neither be counted nor numbered. There went with it 500 elephants, 5 million camels, 30 millions coats of burden, men of various service and merchants without number. The first thing that Serfger did was to tempt this general in the same way as he had done in the case of the other. He sent him a very large and very valuable present seeking his friendship. The Mughal refused both and ordered to inform Serfger that he had not come to receive presents but to subdue him, and for this end, and he asked him to yield and avoid many dangers, as he would make him yield by force. This resolution perturbed Serfger." The story went on, and Gouvea continues "the Mughal had brought with him a large number of heavy artillery of such a calibre that each cannon was drawn by forty yokes of oxen, but they were of no use for bombarding a fortress of this kind; for it was not a fencework of masonry, but of the nature of Nature (God), and (therefore) it also had fortifications in (strong) hill and fortified that they heaped at balls, wood and even the chondrobola. The plain at the top, where the men consumed with the stars, was more than half a league in breadth, provided with food for many years and the most copious water that, after raining rain, was precipitated through the hill to fertilise the plants with which it was covered."

It was in the defense of this fort that Master Hajj, another heroic captain of Shirdji, to be remembered with Haji Prabhu and Jhokaji Misrao, laid down his life together with three hundred Son-heated Mughals. The garrison, says Serfger, "with a courage worthy of the mother of Bravidas, the Spartan, continued the strug-

1. His proper name was Jall Khidr Dnyadri. He had served under Prince Salim, Shahjahan during the War of Succession, and was with Jai Singh in the Akbar campaign. He was the founder of Bhatkhavan in Rajasthan. He died at Aurangabad in 1650-5.

2. See, op. cit., pp. 32-4. The highest point of this fort is 4504 ft. above sea-level and more than 2,000 ft. above the plain at its foot. It is really a double fort—Panvelkar and Valapgarh. (Also called Bhayagadhi). "It was by seizing Valapgarh that Jai Singh in 1665 and the English in 1817 made Panvelkar inaccessible for the Marathas."—Burton, op. cit., pp. 114-5.

gle, undismayed by their leader's fall and saying, "What though one man Shrik Rāj is dead? We are as brave as he, and we shall fight with the same courage." (Sahibnām, 43-44; T. E. S.).<sup>1</sup>

But the struggle was in vain. Consequently, in the words of Dhill Khat, Shrivij's "sent some intelligent men to Rāj Jai Singh, begging forgiveness for his offences, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held and proposing to pay a visit to the Rājā. But the Rājā knowing well his craft and falsehood, gave directions for pressing the attack more vigorously, until the intelligence was brought that Shrivij had come out of the fortress. Some confidential Brahmins now came from him and confessed his expressions of submission and repentance with the most stringent oaths.

"The Rājā promised him security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to visit us the Emperor, and of agreeing to enter his service. He also promised him the grant of a high mansab, and made preparations for suitably receiving him. Shrivij then approached him with great humility. Rājā sent his mansab to receive him, and he also sent some armed Rajputs to provide against treachery. The mansab carried a message to say that if Shrivij submitted freely,<sup>2</sup> grant up his forts, and consented to show obedience, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the Emperor. If he did not accept these terms, he had better return and prepare to receive the war. When Shrivij received the message, he said with great humility that he knew his life and honour were safe if he made his submission. The Rājā then sent a person of higher rank to bring him in with honour.

"When Shrivij arrived, the Rājā arose, embraced him, and seated him near himself. Shrivij then with a thousand signs of shame, clasped his hands and said, "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will render over my great forts with the country of the Koshur, to the Emperor's officers, and I will send you my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and whenever my services are required, I will, on receiving orders discharge my duty loyally." The Rājā cheered him up, and sent him to Dhill Khat.

"After direction had been given for the removal of the ships, arms, baggage, persons, men, women and children, came out of the fort. All that they could not carry away became the property of the Government, and the fort was taken possession of by the army. Dhill Khat presented Shrivij with a sword, etc. He then took him back to the Rājā, who presented him with a robe . . . and assigned him assurances of safety

and honorable treatment. Sivaji, with ready tact, bowed to the inevitability of an instant, and promised to render faithful service. When the question about the fate Sivaji was to remain under parole, and of his return home, arose under consideration, Raja Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, asking forgiveness for Sivaji and the grant of a robe to him, and assigned instructions. . . . A man-bearer arrived with the Jowels and a robe. . . . and Sivaji was employed at mending armour and horses.

'I decided their areas about the forts, and it was finally settled that out of the storeroom forts which he possessed, the tops of twenty-three should be given up, with their services, amounting to ten lots of horse, or forty lots of riders. Twelve small forts, with constant revenue, were to remain in the possession of Sivaji's people. Sivaji, his son, a boy of eight years old, in whom there was a number of 5000 had been quartered at Bida. Jai Singh's suggestion, was to proceed to Court with the Raja, attended by a suitable retinue. Sivaji himself, with his family, was to remain in the hills, not endeavour to restore the property of his invaded country. Whenever he was summoned on Imperial service, he was to attend. On his being allowed to depart, he received a robe, horse, etc.'"

In addition to the above terms, Shivaji further engaged : "If lands yielding 4 lakhs of tax a year in the lowlands of Konkan and 5 lakhs of tax a year in the uplands (Bilghat Biljapur), are granted to me by the Emperor and from secured by an Imperial Jowels that the possession of these lands will be confirmed in me after the expected Maghal conquest of Biljapur, then I agree to pay to the Emperor 40 lakhs of Ann in 12 yearly instalments."

These lands were to be treated from Biljapur by Shivaji himself, and Barker observes, "Here we detect the shrewdness of Jai Singh's policy in throwing a bomb of perpetual contention between Shivaji and the Sultans of Biljapur. As he wrote to the Emperor, 'This policy will result in a threefold gain : first, we get 40 lakhs of Ann or 2 drams of Rupees : secondly, Shivaji will be absorbed from Biljapur ; thirdly, the Imperial army will be relieved from the arduous task of campaigning in these two broken and jangling regions as Shivaji will himself undertake the task of expelling the Biljapuri garrisons from them.' In return for it, Shivaji also agreed to assist the Maghals in the invasion of Biljapur with 2,000 cavalry of his own Shambhaji's march and 7,000 expert infantry under his own command."

This splendid achievement was accomplished by Jai Singh in

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 113-15.

2. Barker, op. cit., pp. 140-41.

less than three months. In the Bijapur campaign of Jai Singh, which we have already described, Shivaji faithfully carried out his promises. Yet, distrustful of the wily Maratha chief, Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, "Now that Adil Shah and Quth Shah have united in mischief, it is necessary to win Shiva's heart by all means and to send him to Northern India to have audience<sup>1</sup> with your Majesty."<sup>2</sup>

To cut a long story short, after much diplomatic discussion and most solemn assurances on the part of Jai Singh as to his safety and honour, Shivaji set out for Agra, to the Imperial Court. His disappointment there and his romantic escape are familiar to every school-boy in India. There are several versions of the details,<sup>3</sup> but the following account given by Khafi Khān ought to serve our purpose:—

"After giving Shivaji every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he (Jai Singh) made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court. News of Shivaji's arrival was brought on the festival of the ascension (9th year of the reign, 1659 A. D.) was being celebrated. It was ordered that Khusrau Khan Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, with Makhdo Khān, should go out to meet and comfort that self-wilderness fellow to Agra. On the 15th 24<sup>th</sup> Jada, 1078, Shivaji, and his son of nine years old, had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offering of 500 sikahs and 6000 rupees, altogether 26,000 rupees. By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *pani-haas*. But his son, a boy of eight (11 years, had previously<sup>4</sup> been made a *pani-haas* and *chāh*), one of his relations, who had rendered great service to Mirza Jai Singh in his campaign against Bijapur, had been advanced to the same dignity, as that Shivaji had a claim to working less than the dignity of a *pani-haas* (7,000). Mirza Jai Singh had flattered Shivaji with promises; but as the Khan knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Shivaji, he actually refrained from making known the hopes he had held out. The *darbar*, or reception of Shivaji, had not been such as he expected. He was annoyed, and so, before the ride and *javah*<sup>5</sup> and elephant, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented, he complained to Khan Singh that he was disappointed. The Khusrau tried to pacify him, but without effect.<sup>6</sup> When his disappointed bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was disturbed with

1. Ibid., p. 158.

2. For a special study of this subject read Dandekar, *The Deliverance of the Emperor of Shivan (sic) from Agra* (Poona, 1929).

3. It is said that when the Emperor enquired as to what was the matter, Khusrau Khan Singh diplomatically answered, "The tiger is a wild beast of the jungle, and feels oppressed by the heat of a place like this and has taken ill!"

little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial favour, and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of Raja Jal Singh, it had been arranged by Kaurav Rām Singh. A letter was sent to Raja Jal Singh, informing him of what had passed, and Shihji was forbidden to come to the Royal presence until the Raja's answer and advice should arrive. His son was ordered to attend the presence in the company of Rām Singh.....

'Abur Shihji, returned angry and disappointed from the royal presence to his house, orders were given to the detail to place guards round it. Shihji, reflecting upon his former deeds and his present condition, was sadly troubled by the state of his affairs. His thought of nothing else but of delivering himself by some crafty plan from his perilous position. His subtle mind was not long in contriving a scheme. From the beginning he kept up a show of friendship and intimacy with the *sewa*, and with Kaurav Rām Singh. He sent them presents of valuable possessions, and, by expressing contrition for his past conduct, he was thus enabled to procure the acceptance of his shame and repentance.

'Afterwards he began to be ill, and groaned and sighed aloud. Complaining of pains in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed, and, as if prompted with consumption or fever, he sought remedies from the physicians. For some time he carried on this artifice. At length he made known his recovery. He sent presents to his doctors and attendants, paid to the *Belhans*, and presents of grain and money to many *Manikans* and *Hindus*. For this purpose he had provided large baskets covered with paper. These being filled with sweetmeats of all sorts, were sent to the houses of the *sewa* and to the studios of *Jatis*. Two or three *sewa's* horses were procured, and, under the pretence of being presents to Brahmins, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen *des* from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were gaily on his plans. A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the couch, and Shihji's gold ring was placed upon his hand. He was directed to throw a few pieces of muslin over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand; and when any one came in, to begin to be asleep. Shihji with his son, got into two baskets, and were carried out, it being pretended that the baskets contained sweetmeats intended for the *Belhans* and *Jatis* of Mathura.<sup>1</sup>

After various adventures Shihji returned to the South via Mathura, Allahabad, Benares, and Tellingana. The alarm was raised too late at Agra, and even then the Imperial methods were too tardy of action.<sup>2</sup> The *Arwāf* and Kaurav Rām Singh were executed, and as Rām Singh was suspected of having prompted the

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 276-81.

2. For an interesting version of the sequel, according to *Compte de Courtois*, see *ibid.*, op. cit., pp. 123-6. Also cf. my *Mughal History Re-examined*.

evaded, he was deprived of his *mansab* and forbidden to come to Court. Orders were sent to the provincial governors, and to the officials in all directions, to search for Shivaji, and to seize him and send him to the Emperor. Rājā Jai Singh, who just at this time had retired from Rajput, and had settled at Agra, received orders . . . to search carefully for the bird escaped from the cage, and not after him to re-establish himself in his old forests and to gather his followers around him.<sup>1</sup> But the old Rajput general was completely baffled; he was recalled in May 1657, and died on the 2nd July following, at Baridagar on his way to the capital.

The return of Prince Muazzam, as viceroy of the Deccan, together with Jaiwant Singh, gave Shivaji the opportunity he needed. Though the Mughal arms were strengthened with the joining of Dilir Khān, in October 1657, Shivaji soon retrieved his lost position. The empire being threatened in the North-West at the same time (1657), and the Imperial officers in the Deccan quarrelling among themselves, a peace was patched up with the Marathas (30th March 1662) which lasted for two years. Shivaji's title of Rājā was recognised by the Emperor, and the English factory records of the time speak of the "great tranquillity," "Shivaji being very quiet, not offering to molest the king's country." Shivaji was again created a *mansabdar* of 5,000, and was sent to the viceroy's Court at Aurangabad with a contingent of 1,000 horse. It was during this period (1662-66) that Shivaji laid the foundations of his government, broad and deep, to the admiration of after ages.<sup>2</sup>

On the miserable ground of Aurangzeb's campaign of temple destruction in 1669, Shivaji launched his offensive once again, about the close of that year or the beginning of the next. One of the great exploits of this campaign was the capture of Kondana (then-forward called Sinhgauri) by the brave Tanaji Malasari. His exploits are still sung by rustic bards in Maharashtra, and are bel-lied rarely:

*'On pour the host in conquering might,  
 That down the Mogul's eagle retire,  
 And o'er the fortress of their fear,  
 Their monarch's orange standard bore.*

1. *J. & D.*, op. cit., VII, p. 281.

2. *Ibid.*, op. cit., p. 282.



*And now the corner's rounder land  
 Fied's for the plain the conquest grand;  
 Five times they spoke in fumes and smoke,  
 And Rājghat's distant towers smoke;  
 "Singhar is sure," proclaimed the king,  
 And bid his goss his owner ring.*

*And ye, Marathas! haste! give ear,  
 Panah's exploits eared to hear,  
 Where from your whole dominion wide  
 Shall each another be supplied!"*

While Shivaji was thus conquering, reconquering, and consolidating, Prince Bhadrasim and Dilir Kōha were again quarrelling and victimizing each other. In March 1670, consequently, the English factors at Surat wrote, "Shivaji marches now not [as] before as a thief, but in great with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes, and 'is not disturbed though the Prince has near him."<sup>1</sup>

On 3rd October 1670 Shivaji for a second time plundered Surat. The incidents of the previous raid repeated themselves in the course of these days. (vi) *Second Loss of Surat.*

Property worth about 130 lakhs of rupees was carried away, and Surat remained in continuous dread of the Marathas until 1673. "But the real loss of Surat," observes Sarkis, "was not to be estimated by the booty which the Marathas carried off. The trade of this, the richest port of India, was practically destroyed....Business was effectually seized away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this the greatest emporium of Western India."<sup>2</sup>

The rest of Shivaji's relations with the Mughals may be briefly enumerated. Between the years 1671-2, in addition to the recovery of most of the territory ceded by the treaty of Purandar (1665), the Marathas annexed Baglana (north of Nalk district), and the Kolli country (Javhar and Birmagar of Udhavgarh), between Surat and Thana. In 1675 Panhala was annexed, and Kolhapur and Poona in 1676. By this time Shivaji had also

(vi) *Continuation to Diary of Shivaji* (1674-80).

1. *Annals, Sketches of the Marathas*, pp. 32, 33.  
 2. O. C. 2418, cited by Sarkis, op. cit., p. 127.  
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 326.

got himself crowned (1674) at Bilgarh, by which act he at once elevated himself from being a mere rebel or free-booter to the status of a crowned monarch. As Sarkar has well observed, "So long as he was a mere private subject, he could not, with all his power, claim the loyalty and the devotion of the people over whom he ruled. His promises could not have the sanctity and continuity of the public engagements of the head of a State. He could sign no treaty, grant no land with legal validity and an assurance of permanence. The territories conquered by his sword could not become his hereditary property, however undisturbed his possession over them might be in practice. The people living under his sway or serving under his banner, could not renounce their allegiance to the former sovereign of the land, nor be sure that they were exempt from the charge of treason for their obedience to him. The permanence of his political creation required that it should be validated as the act of a sovereign."<sup>1</sup>

During the last six years of his life (1674-80) Shijah's conquests were mainly confined to the lands south of the front already named. In a history of the Mughal Empire they have a place only as the future battle-ground between the Marathas and the Mughals, as the legacy of the fight with Shijah after the death of the great enemy of the Empire. This comprised the southern division of Shijah's *amiriyas* (consisting of the Konkan south of Bombay, Surat-*ahli* and the North Kanara coast, the Karmatak districts of Belgaum and Dhavare to Kopal west of the Tungabhadra river, and lastly portions of Mysore, Bellary, Chitala, and Anant districts up to Velkon and Jajji); the northern division consisting of the Dang and Baglana, the Kolli country south of Surat, Konkan north of Bombay, and the Deccan plateau of Dakh southwards to Poona, and the Satara and Kolhapur districts.

"Outside these settled or half-settled parts of his kingdom, there was a wide and very fluctuating belt of land subject to his power but not owing him sovereignty. They were the adjacent parts of the Mughal Empire (*Maghul-i-Murshid*), which formed the happy hunting-ground of his horsemen," and whence he levied *chauth*.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, p. 158.  
2. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

Shivaji died on 4th April 1680.<sup>1</sup> This event followed by the

3. *Sambhaji*  
1680-83.

escape of the rebellious Prince Akbar into the Deccan, obliged Aurangzeb to come to the South,<sup>2</sup> where he was destined to spend the re-

maining twenty-seven years of his life. Shivaji was succeeded by his restless son Sambhaji, who though braver than his father was profligate to a degree. This prince, before his barbarous execution in 1689, followed the strategy of the great Maratha, and harried and plundered the Mughal territories in the Deccan. He also, like Shivaji, befriended the Kith-bhithi and Adil-shahi Sultans whenever it was convenient to co-operate with them against the Mughals.<sup>3</sup> Thus in 1677 the Marathas had been promised 3,000 *hans* a day or 4½ lakhs of rupees a month) and a contingent of 5,000 for the conquest of the Karnatak. The Kuth Sults had also agreed to pay an annual subsidy of one lakh of *hans* regularly and to keep a Maratha ambassador at his Court. With this aid Sambhaji had conquered, in the course of 1677-78, a territory of 40 by 40 leagues estimated to yield 50 lakhs of *hans* a year, and including a hundred forts. Similarly, in 1679, Sambhaji had gone to the rescue of helpless Bijapur and "poured like a flood through the districts of Mughal Deccan, plundering and burning in their track and taking an immense booty in cash and kind." But this was Shivaji's last campaign.

1. He was then 50 years of age at that time. "Shivaji's real greatness," observes his faithful biographer, "lay in his character and ability rather than in the originality of conception or length of political vision. Unfailing insight into the character of others, efficiency of arrangements, and instinctive perception of what was practicable and most profitable under the circumstances (just *des choses possibles*)—these were the virtues of his unique life. The imperishable achievement of his life was the making of the scattered Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the ideal that he bequeathed into his people. And he achieved this in the face of the opposition of four mighty Powers like the Mughal empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India, and the Abyssinians of India."

"His other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies; they can construct their own defence; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry; they can maintain order and flourishing States of their own, and stand equal before on equal terms with Europeans. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth." (*Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 242).

2. Aurangzeb arrived at Aurangabad on 22nd March, 1680.

3. For a fuller study of the history of Golkonda and Bijapur, Kith-bhithi of Golkonda in the Seventeenth Century. (Poona, 1904.)

1. "When Shāhājī was dead," writes Khān Khān, "his son-in-law Samkha desired to usurp his father. He raised the standard of rebellion, and on the 28th Māgharān, in the twenty-third year of the reign, corresponding with 1181 A.D. (15th Feb., 1580), he attacked Kāshī Kōta, who acted as collector of the *alīqa* under Kāshīnārān, the Sulṭān of the Dakhn. . . . he fell upon Raichūrpur, one *hau* and a half from Raichūrpur. This place was rich, and there were many *hātars* and merchants in it. Jewels, money and goods from all parts of the world were found in vast abundance. He surrounded and attacked this place, . . . and his attack was so sudden and unexpected, . . . that no one was able to save a *shēn* or a *shēn* of his property, or a single one of his wives and children. . . . Several other places of note, such as Hām-purā, etc., in the neighbourhood of the city, all wealthy and flourishing places were plundered and burnt."<sup>1</sup>

2. When Prince Muhammad Akbar sought shelter in the Durrān (1180) he found his way to Rāshīd (Rāshīd), the capital of Samkha. "This chief," says Khān Khān, "came to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *hau* from the fort of Rāshīd, and paid an allowance for his support." This, as we have seen already, drew down the wrath of the Empire upon him, and Akbar finally escaped to Persia.<sup>2</sup>

3. In the final campaign of Aurangzeb against Golconda (1687-81), *waḥīd* will remember that, among the Imperial charges against Akbar Hān, it was also stated: "moreover it had lately become known that a *hau* of *paṭṭā* had been sent to the *raṭṭ* Samkha."

4. All these were sufficient grievances for Aurangzeb to organize his forces to crush Samkha. So, "Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh was sent in the 34th year of the reign, 1181 A.D. and some experienced *amir* to punish the *raṭṭ* about Raichūrpur and Chāshānān. From Jang, with another *amir*, was sent to reduce the forts in the neighbourhood of Rāshīd. Mubārak Khān, otherwise called Shāh's Mother, Mubārak Khān was sent against the *raṭṭ* Samkha. Each of them endeavored to distinguish himself in the performance of the service in which he had been sent. Mubārak Khān distinguished above all the *amir* of the Dakhn for his military knowledge and enterprise. He laid siege to the fort of Pāndā, near Raichūr, and sent out his spies in all directions to gather intelligence, and especially to get information about Samkha, who in his *raṭṭ* and *raṭṭ* *chāsh* of his was far more clever than his father Shāh. . . .

This ill-fated fellow left his old home at Rāshīd, and went to the fort of Rāshīd. After relieving himself of the state of his slaves, and the retirement of the country round, under the guidance of advice for-  
tune, which kept him ignorant of the approach of the Imperial forces,

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 308.

2. Ibid., p. 308.

3. The Mughal offensive was opened at the end of the rainy season, about the middle of September 1687. (Tarikh, Short History of Aurang-  
zeb, p. 307).

He went to bathe in the waters of the Sato-Ganga, on the borders of the district of Sangamner (Sangamnerkar in the Chauri), one day's journey from the sea-shore. The place was situated in a valley, surrounded by high mountains of difficult passage. Here Katakata (Katakata, Kavi-katakata, or Kavikatakata, a Khasari) born companion of Samdhilaji, the fifth day had built a house, embellished with paintings and surrounded with a garden full of fruit trees and flowers. Samdhilaji, with Katakata, and his wives, and his son Sibi, went there, accompanied by a force of two or three thousand horse, entirely unaware of the approach of the lords of destiny." So writes KHALI KHAN.

"After bathing, he passed there, viewing the lofty hills, the arboreal shade full of sweets and desserts, and the thick woods of thorny trees. Unlike his father he was addicted to wine, and lost of the anxiety of *Indrasena's* career, and gave himself up to pleasure. Ministers brought him intelligence of the active movements of Mukarrab Khan; but he was absorbed in the pleasures which bring so many men of might to their ruin. ...." The other details need not be followed. Samdhilaji and all his family and family were taken prisoner to the Emperor. The degree of rejoicing that accompanied this event may be fairly taken as the measure of the Imperial satisfaction at the triumphant conclusion of Aurangzeb's long drawn out struggle with Shivaji and his son.

"It is said that during the four or five days when Mukarrab Khan was known to be dwelling with his prisoners, the rejoicings were so great among all classes, from chaste matrons to miserable men, that they could not sleep at night, and they went out two by two to meet the prisoners, and gave expression to their satisfaction. In every town and village on the road or near it wherever the news reached, there was great delight; and whenever they passed, the doors and roofs were full of men and women, who looked on rejoicing .... (So says the Imperial Historian.)

"After they had been sent to their places of confinement, some of the councillors of the state advised that their lives should be spared, and that they should be kept in perpetual confinement, on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortresses held by Samdhilaji. .... The Emperor was in favour of ending the opportunity of getting rid of these prime movers of the strife, and hoped that with a little exertion their fortresses would be reduced. He therefore rejected the advice, and would not consent to spare them on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortresses. He gave orders that the cages of both should be torn out. Then, with ten or eleven other persons, they were to be put to death with a mastery of torture, and lastly he ordered that the sides of the forts of Samdhilaji

1. Mukarrab Khan was well rewarded for this "splendid and unparalleled success. .... He granted to him an increase of 5000 horse, gave him the title of Khán Sahib Panh-Jang, a present of 50,000 rupees, and of a horse, elephants, etc., etc. His son, Fakir Khan, who held a manse of 4000 persons and 4000 horse, had it increased a thousand, and received the title of Fakir-i-Adab. His four or five sons and nephews also received titles and marks of favour." (KHALI KHAN—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 341).

and Kitchens should be stuffed with straw, and exposed in all the cities and towns of the Dekkan, with beat of drum and sound of trumpet. Such is the reflection for rebellion, violent, oppressive evil-doers (so says Khair Khân).<sup>1</sup>

Shiba, the son of Sambrhji, a boy of seven years of age, was spared, and orders were given for his being kept within the limits of the palace. Suitable teachers were appointed to educate him, and a sum of 7000 was granted to him. ... Some women, including the mother and daughters of Sambrhji, were sent to the fortress of Daulatabad.<sup>2</sup>

Sambrhji's tragedy was the outcome of his own impolicy and ineptitude. As Barbar has well observed,

A. F. Hillier: "While Aurangzeb was directing the full  
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strength of his empire against Bijapur and Golkonda, Shambrhji made no adequate effort to meet the danger that threatened all the Deccan Powers alike. His soldiers plundered places in the Mughal territory as a matter of routine, but these raids did not influence the military situation. Aurangzeb disregarded such pin-pricks. The Maratha king was not wise enough to follow any large and well-thought-out plan for dislodging the Mughals from the siege of Bijapur (1685) and Golkonda (1687) and averting their fall; his Government was also hopelessly weakened by rebellions among his vassals and plots among his courtiers."<sup>3</sup>

The weakness of hereditary monarchy, in an unsettled country with no defined principles of succession, had been demonstrated in Mahrattas as well, immediately after Shivaji's death. Rajaram, a lad of ten years (the younger son of Shivaji by another wife), had been preferred by some of the nobility to his profligate older step-brother Sambhaji. But within a short time Sambhaji came into his own, with the results we have witnessed. Aurangzeb found hardly any respite even after the execution of Sambhaji. Rajaram immediately stepped into the shoes of his deceased step-brother. "Messengers now brought to the knowledge of the Emperor," writes Khair Khân, "that the forces of Rám Rájá (as he calls Rajaram) had marched in various directions to manage the territories and reduce the forts belonging to the Imperial throne."<sup>4</sup>

1. This tragedy was enacted at Karwar, on the banks of the Narmda, 12 miles N. E. of Poona, on 17th March 1689.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88.

3. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

The westernmost campaigning of the next ten years may be only very briefly told here. "The years 1688 and 1689 were a period of unbroken triumph to the Emperor. His armies took possession of the forts and provinces of the annexed kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, e.g., Bijar (the Deccan capital), Raichur and Adoni (on the eastern Sera and Bangalore (in Mysore), Wandewash and Conjeveram (in the Madras Karnatak), Berhampur and Belgaum (in the extreme south west), Insulin Kilgaon (the capital) and every other Maratha fort. In Northern India, too, signal success attended his arms: the Jat rising under Rajbirin was put down and that leader was slain (on 4th July, 1688)."<sup>1</sup>

The Marathas were past-master in tactics. Rajbirin under the advice of his minister (Amkhye) Phanschandee Nilsinche Bhyadkar, escaped to Jodh (in order to divide the Imperial forces by creating a diversion in the eastern Karnatak. In the Maratha dominions nearer home the Amkhye himself was appointed Diastar (Wahabmatjamat) with his headquarters at Vishnupur. Between these two fronts the Mughal forces were littered away. "The difficulties of Aurangzeb," observes Sarkar, "were only multiplied by the disappearance of a compact head and a central government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his own retainers fought and ruled in a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aurangzeb could not end it, because there was no Maratha government or State army for him to attack and destroy."<sup>2</sup> "It was no longer a simple military problem, but had become a trial of endurance and resources between the Mughal empire and the indigence people of the Deccan."<sup>3</sup>

(i) The first reverse of the Imperialist came in May 1690 when the Mughal general Rustam Khan was captured and his camp looted by the Marathas. This was the achievement of Gk Maratha general Santaji Chorpade.

'Every one who encountered him,' says Khair Khan, 'was either killed or wounded and made prisoner; or if any one did escape, it was with his ears lit, with the loss of his arms and baggage. Nothing could be done, for wherever the accused dog went and threatened an attack, there was no Imperial unit bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made boldest warriors quake. Small

1. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

Khan was accounted one of the bravest and most skilful warriors of the Deccan, but he was defeated in the first action, his army was plundered, and he himself was wounded and made prisoner. After some months he obtained his release, on the payment of a large sum of money. So also Husam Khan, otherwise called Shams Khan, the *Shahin* of the first and as brave as they, was defeated by him in the district of Bidar, and after losing his baggage and all that he had with him, became again prisoner, and had to pay a large sum for his ransom. Ali Mirdan Khan, otherwise called Husain Beg Bahadurkhan, . . . was defeated and made prisoner with several others. After detention of some days, they obtained their release on paying a ransom of two lakhs of rupees.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) In 1661 the Mughal position at Junj became very critical. Next year matters were made worse by the negotiations of Prince Khan Bahadur with the enemy : so he was arrested by his colleagues (Dec. 1662 to Jan. 1663). Between 1660-66, the activities of Pinda Niryah, the Band chief, harassed the Imperial arms in the strategically important tract between Bidar and Bijapur and from Raichur to Malhar.

(iii) "At last, by April 1666 Aurangzeb came to realise that he had really gained nothing by the conquest of the Adil-shahi and Qasbi-shahi capitals and the extinction of their royal lines. He now perceived that the Maratha problem was no longer what it had been in Shahaji's time, or even in Shambhaji's. They were no longer a tribe of bandits or local rebels, but the new dominating power of Deccan politics, the only enemy left to the empire, and yet an enemy all-pervasive from Bombay to Madras across the Indian peninsula, elusive as the wind, without any headman or stronghold whose capture would naturally result in the extinction of their power." Giving up all hopes, therefore, of being able to return to the North, Aurangzeb in May 1666 sent his eldest surviving son, Shih Adara, to govern and guard the north-west (Panjab, Sindh, and then Afghanistan). For the next 4½ years he settled down at Balkhgarh (Behabadgarh) to conduct the operations. The chief incidents of this period were the destruction of two Mughal generals, Khair Khan (Nov. 1666) and Hiramut Khan (Jan. 1668), the murder of Gauraji Chhapdel in a domestic feud, and the return of Rajahm as a result of the fall of Taji in January 1668.

The circumstances attending on the defeat of Khair Khan are thus detailed by Khair Khan :

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 347.  
2. *Sarfaraz*, op. cit., p. 317.



"In fact, for a month they were besieged within the four walls (of Dauder), and, every day affairs grew worse with them. They were compelled to kill and eat their baggage and riding horses, which were themselves nearly starved. For all the greatest care and economy, the stores of grain in the fort were exhausted. .... To escape from starvation many men threw themselves from the walls and tumbled to the enemy's mercy. .... People brought fish and sweet-meats from the enemy's boats to the feet of the walls, and sold them at extravagant prices. .... Famine, disease, deficiency of water and want of grain, reduced the garrison to the verge of death. Kaula Khán, according to report, poisoned himself, or died from want of the usual portion of spice, for he was overcome with disappointment and rage.

"Fatah-lah Khán and the other officers were compelled to make overtures for a capitulation. .... Some officers went out to settle the terms of the ransom. Sa'id said, "Besides the elephants and horses, and money and property, which you have with you, I will not take less than a lot of *hans*," equivalent to three *hans* and 50,000 rupees. A Dehlied officer said, "What are you thinking of! this is mere talk. This is a ransom which I would do for Fatah-lah Khán, alone." Finally, seven *hans* of rupees was settled as the ransom, the payment of which was to be distributed among the officers. Each one's share was settled, and he made an engagement to pay as ransom, and to have a relation or officer of rank with Sa'id as bail for payment. Sa'id's officers sat down at the gate of the fort, and allowed every officer to take his horse and his personal clothing, the others were allowed to carry out as much as they could bear in their arms. Everything else, money and jewels, horses and elephants, &c., was confiscated by Sa'id. .... The Government and personal property lost during this war and siege amounted *fity* or sixty *hans* of rupees."

14. With the flight of Bikhshin from Jajil began the last phase of Akbarghat's war in the Deccan. "The rest of his life (1595-1707) is a repetition of the same sickening tale: a hill-fort captured by him after a vast expenditure of time, men and money, the fort recovered by the Marathas from the weak Mughal garrison after a few months, and its siege began again by the Marathas a year or two later! His soldiers and camp-followers suffered unparelleled hardships, in marching over flooded rivers,<sup>1</sup> muddy roads, and broken

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 356-7.

15. Here is a description of one such flood, given by Khán Khán: "In the month of Abanbaron of this year (1594-5), the river Bhavara (Bhakra) rose which the royal camp was pitched, rose to a great height and overflowed, causing enormous destruction. The water had built many houses there. The waves began to overflow at midnight, when all the world was asleep. .... The flood carried off about ten or twelve thousand men, with the establishments of the King, and the princes and the nobles; horses, beloches and cattle in countless numbers, tents and furniture be-

hilly tracts; porters disappeared; transport boats died of hunger and overwork; scarcity of grain was ever present in his camp. His officers worried of this labour of Shingha; but Aurangzeb would burst into wrath at any suggestion of return to Northern India and trust the unlucky commander with confidence and love of awe. The natural jealousy of his generals ruined his affairs as completely as the French cause in the Peninsular War was ruined by the jealousy of Napoleon's marshals. Therefore, the Emperor must conduct every operation in person, or nothing would be done. The siege of eight forts—Sikra, Firid, Pashila, Khairi (Vaidighat), Kandana (Sinsapati), Rajpuri, Torra and Waghgata,—occupied him for five years and a half (1666-1672).<sup>1</sup>

v. The fact that, with the exception of Torra, all other forts yielded to the golden key of bribery, throws a lurid light on the extent of demoralisation that had come over the successors of Shij Pashla or Tughla. Out of this welter we might choose for description only the siege of Sikra which is reminiscent of the siege of Orléans by Arthur, in its storming effort and appalling toll of destruction.

'At the end of *Jumada-ul awwal* (Dec. 1669) the royal army arrived opposite Sikra, and the camp was pitched at a distance of a *far* and a half. Prince Muhammad Asim Shah encamped on another side, and the soldiers and officers were posted according to the judgment of Tadhiri Khán. They all vied with each other in throwing up lines, digging mines, and carrying on other siege operations.....On both sides a heavy fire was kept up.....and the garrison relied down great stones, which came bounding down and crushed many men and animals. The rain obstructed the arrival of corn; the enemy were very daring in attacking the encamps, and the country for twenty *far* round the fortress had been burnt, so that grain and hay became very scarce and dear. A battery twenty-four yards (*deh*) high was thrown up in front of the hill, and on the Prince's side also the batteries were carried to the foot of the hill. A hundred and sixty thousand *rupees* were paid for the services of the troops and militia of that country, who are very efficient in sieges.....Mines were burst with the garrison, and the chance of doing a gun or a musket was no longer in their power: all that they could do was to roll down stones from the walls.....

road all round. Muscovite houses were destroyed, and some were so completely carried away that not a trace of them was left. Great loss fell on all the army....The King wrote our prayers with his own hand, and ordered stone to be thrown into the water, for the purpose of causing it to subside! — (Ibid., p. 361).

1. Sarkis, *op. cit.*, 219.

'Stone-masons were employed by the besiegers to cut two roads in the side of the rock four yards broad and ten yards long, which were to be used as staircases for sentinels. But when they were forced not to answer for this purpose, they were filled with powder. . . . On the morning of the 24th Jil-hada, in the fourth month of the siege, one of these was fired. The rock and the wall above it were blown into the air and fell inside the fortress. Many of the garrison were blown up and burnt. The besiegers, on beholding this, pushed boldly forward. At that time the second mine was fired. A portion of the rock above was blown up, but instead of falling into the fortress, as was expected, it came down upon the heads of besiegers like a mountain of destruction, and several thousands were buried under it. . . . The garrison then set about repairing the walls, and they again opened fire and rolled down the life-destroying stones.

'When Aurangzeb was informed of the disaster, and of the dependency of his men, he mounted his horse, and went to the scene of action as if in search of death. He gave orders that the bodies of the dead should be piled upon each other, and made to serve as shields against the arrows of calamity; then with the ladder of vengeance, and the outlay-proposals of boldness, the men should rush to the assault. When he perceived that his words made no impression on the men, he was desirous to lead the way himself, accompanied by Mubammad Amin Shah. But the soldiers objected to this rash proposition.

'An extraordinary incident afterwards occurred. A great number of Hindu infantry soldiers had been killed all at once (in the explosion), and their friends were unable to send and bury out their bodies. The violence of the shock had entirely disfigured them, and it was not possible to distinguish between Mussulmans and Hindus, friend and stranger. The flames of animosity burnt forth among all the persons against the commander of the artillery. So at night they secretly set fire to the defence (murtak), which had been raised at great trouble and expense against the fire from above, in the hope and with the design that the fire might reach the corpses of the slaughtered Hindus. A great conflagration followed, and for the space of a week served as a bright lamp both for besiegers and besieged. A number of Hindus and Mussulmans who were alive in the fort were unable to escape, and were burnt, the living with the dead.'

Rajjikan, who since his return from Jajji had occupied himself with inspecting his forts in Koshan and forming plans of extensive raids in Kaladash and Dera, died at Singhgarh on 2nd March, 1700. He had left Sialkot on 22d October 1699, in order to escape falling into the hands of the enemy. The news of his death disheartened the beleagued at Sialkot and led to the capitulation of that fortress in April 1700.

3. Last Phase:  
1704-1707.

The nature of the struggle after the death of Rājārām is thus depicted by Khif Khif:—  
 'When Rājā Rām died, leaving only widows and infants, men thought that the power of the Marathas over the Dekhān was at an end. But Tārā Bāi, the *dēvī gāī* (of Rājārām), made her son<sup>1</sup> of three years-old succumb to his father, and took the reins of government into her own hands.<sup>2</sup> She took vigorous measures for enlarging the Imperial territory, and went on to plunder the six *rajas* of the Dekhān as far as Bāgar, Mandav, and the *raja* of Malwa. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign, the power of the Marathas increased day by day. By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasure accumulated by Shihā Jadhā, and by sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wooded country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home: still the daring of the Marathas increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went. In imitation of the Emperor, who with his armies and entrepôts *adobe* was staying in three distant countries, the commanders of Tārā Bāi cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed *amālikdārs* (revenue officers), they passed the years and months to their satisfaction with their wives and children, cows and elephants. Their dining was beyond all bounds. They divided all the districts (parganas) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their *amālikdārs* (provincial government), *amālikdārs* (revenue collectors), and *malikdār* (half-collectors)..... They attacked and destroyed the country as far as the borders of Ahmedabad and the districts of Malwa, and spread their devastations through the provinces of the Dekhān to the coasts of Ujjain. They fell upon and plundered large caravans within ten or twelve *bars* of the Imperial camp, and even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure.' Khif Khif winds up by saying, 'It would be a troublesome and useless task to commit to writing all their misdeeds: but it must suffice to record some few of the events which occurred in those days of sieges, which, after all, had no effect in suppressing the daring of the Marathas.'

There was corruption in both the camps, as well as fraud and defection among important officers. But this weakness was more than counterbalanced by the determination of Aurangzeb on the one hand, and the intrepid leadership of Tārā Bāi on the other. For

1. This was Shīvaji III. He had been preceded by Karna, a natural son of Rājārām, who had been crowned by the ministers in Shalā II.; but he died of smallpox in three weeks' time.

2. Elsewhere the same writer speaks of Tārā Bāi as a clever and ambitious woman, who had obtained a reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters—*ibid.*, p. 307.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 373-74.

a time the Emperor tried to make political capital out of Shihō (Sankishō's eldest son) who was in the Imperial camp ever since the capture and execution of his father; but this proved of no avail. As Hildner puts it, "As the Marathas had not been vanquished, and the entire Deccan had come into their possession like a deliciously cooked pudding, why should they make peace?.... The envoys of the Prince returned in disappointment, and Hishō was again placed under surveillance in the jail *ha*."<sup>1</sup>

So the laborious and endless task of capturing individual fortresses was continued. After Sitali (1700) came Pili (1701), Pan-Mā (1701), Khajwa (1701), Khandwa (1702), Bilgach (1702) and Torwa (1704),—all excepting the last being taken, not so much by assault, as by what Khali Khā calls "negotiations with the commandants and providers of material advancement."<sup>2</sup> The last expedition ever led by Aurangzeb in person was against the Berar<sup>3</sup> chief Piliya Nihāl. He proved the last political straw that broke the Imperial camel's back. The capture of Bilgachra, in April 1705, was a pyrrhic victory for Aurangzeb. "Bilgachra was captured, but its chieftain had escaped and lived to give trouble to the victors. Thus, all Aurangzeb's labours for these three months were lost."<sup>4</sup>

1. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

2. E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 177.

3. This is evidently a mistake for Asawa or Indora. Sarkar gives the form as cited in the text. I do not know for what reason. The Persian copy of it is As-aw, i.e. Asawa. Khali Khā says of their chief Piliya Nihāl, at his death here, "Having taken up his residence at Wadakhra, he showed no signs of moving, but sat about speculating and adding to the defence, and laying in warlike stores. Persuaded by letters, he in time collected nearly 14 or 15 thousand infantry of vigor and audacity. He made his hill a strong fortress, and, collecting in a short time 4 or 5 thousand horse, he stored flourishing places for and war, and plunder of caravans. Whenever an army was sent against him, the strong force which he had collected proved that the strength of his retreat, the influence of money upon a military, a position which he well understood, his knowledge of Asawa proceedings, and his own industry, caused him strength; and bags of money and a variety of presents covered all discrepancies in his conduct. In his letters he made all sort of artificial excuses, and represented himself as one of the most obedient of Zamindars and passionate of revenue-payers. Every month and year he carried himself in increasing his buildings, strengthening his fortifications and walls, in gathering horses, and acquiring arms, guns, and small. At last his place became well known as the fort of Wadakhra, and he became a first ally of the Marathas, the disciples of the Dabhā."—*Ibid.*, p. 176.

## DESOLATION AND DEATH

The ultimate result of Aurangzeb's nearly quarter century of campaigning in the Deccan is thus described by Macartney, a contemporary European observer : 'Aurangzeb withdrew to Ahmednagar leaving behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of men and bere of crops, their place being taken by the bones of men and beasts. Instead of verdure all is blank and barren. There have died in his armies over a hundred souls yearly, and of animals, pack-cattle, camels, elephants, etc., over three hundred thousand. .... In the Deccan provinces, from 1702 to 1704, plague [and famine] prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions of souls.' The retreat of Aurangzeb to Ahmednagar brought no rest to his army or peace to his Empire. In April or May 1708 a great Maratha army under all its leaders appeared within four miles of his camp, and they were repulsed only after a very severe combat.

In the twinkles, in a minute, in a breath, the condition of the world changes.

[The last moment of Aurangzeb's life came on the morning of Friday, 20th February 1707.] The events leading up to it are thus described by Khair Khān :—

In April 1705, 'The Emperor was seized with illness, and had severe pains in his limbs, which caused grave apprehensions. But he insisted himself, took his seat in the public hall, and engaged in business, thus giving consolation to the people. But his illness increased, he had difficulty in and lost his senses so that very alarming reports spread abroad, and for two or twelve days the army and camp were in great distress. But by the mercy of God he grew better, and occasionally showed himself

### 2. How is Khair Khān's account of the plague.

'The plague (shubh) and pestilence (wushh), which had for several years been in the Dehli as far as part of Surat and the city of Ahmedabad, came broke out with violence in Bijapur, and in royal camp. It was so violent that when an individual was attacked with it, he gave up all hope, and thought only about his mourning and mourning. The black-patal guestsayer of the city sought to pick out the seed of the human race from the field of the world, and the cold blast of destruction tried to cut down the tree of life from the surface of the world. The victims of the plague were coverings as big as a gage in houses under the same, behind the eave, and in the groin, and a rottenness was perceptible round the people of the camp, as in fever or pestilence (wushh). It was the business of him to provide for the interment of the dead, but thousands of obscure and friendless persons of no property died in the towns and suburbs, and very few of them had the means of burial .... It began in the 17th year of the reign and lasted for seven or eight years.'—*ib. id.*, op. cit., VII, p. 207.

2. Sadler, op. cit., 328-4.

to the people in the public hall. The army was in the enemy's country, without house or home; and if she had calamity (at the Emperor's death) were to happen, not one soul would escape from that land of mountains and raging infidels.' After his recovery he proceeded to Akmedragar (18th Jan. 1905). Prince Muhammad Asam Sakh was in the province of Akmedabad. When he heard of his father's illness, he wrote for leave to visit his father, stating as an excuse that the climate of Akmedabad was very unfavourable to him. This displeased the Emperor, who replied that he had written a letter of exactly the same effect to his father Sakh Jakh when he was ill, and that he was told in answer, that every ill (hard) was suitable to a man except the illness (hard) of sickness. But the Prince wrote repeatedly to the same effect, and was then appointed to the rank of Major. He did not, however, go to Ujain, but wrote for leave to visit his father. A grudging permission was given, and the Prince made the best of his way, so that he arrived at the end of the month. The rank of Akmedabad, which was taken from him, was given to Muhammad Ibrahim Khin.....

When Prince Muhammad Asam Sakh reached his father's Court, his confidence in his own courage and boldness, and his pride in the army and treasure he had got together at Akmedabad, made him apply to the royal store and treasure. He thought nothing about his older brother, but considered himself the chief in every way. Prince Muhammad Khin Sakh had looked upon as removed from rivalry by incompetence. But he had observed the altered temper of his father, whose failings were not always in their usual state. His first thought fell upon Prince Muhammad Arin (Arin-sh Sakh, son of Muzum), who was at Akmedabad or Pasha, in Bihar, where he had been sometime Sub-dar, and had obtained a reputation for winning treasures. Therefore he wished to remove him by getting him recalled to Court; and by various representations, some false, some true, he so worked upon the mind of the Emperor, that orders were issued for his recall, ... and the Prince proceeded to wait upon his grand-father.

Confirmation was received, through the Governor of Miran, of the death of Prince Muhammad Arin, in Cutch, the report of which had been current for a year past....

Prince Asam Sakh...now sought a quarrel with Prince Khin Sakh. The Emperor slightly improved in health; but although for some days he went into the public hall of audience and the Court of Justice, he was very weak, and death was clearly marked on his face. Prince Asam's feelings towards Prince Khin Sakh, who was a poor and learned man, were displayed themselves in various slight and improper actions whenever an opportunity offered. Khin Sakh was dear to his father, he is often happens that men have the greatest affection for their youngest sons. So the Emperor appointed a richman to act as the Sub-dar of Khin Sakh, and to him he entrusted the Prince, with instructions to take care of him....

The Knight of the Emperor told him that his health was failing, and he saw that Prince (Amir's) possessions increased daily. He knew that if two archbishops here were left together, after his death there would be divisions in the army, and great disturbances among the people. His affection for Mirza Bahadur also weighed upon him. His son (Mirza Bahadur) was all the signs and tokens of royalty to Kajar, and the dreams of the royal nobleship were united to play as he departed. The sight of all this made Prince Amiri within him a pained heart, but he could not say a word. In two or three days he also received orders to proceed to Mahla in charge of strict officers.

After the departure of the two Princes, the Emperor grew much sorer, and even morose. But for the next four or five days, notwithstanding the severity of the disease, he attended carefully to the regular prayers. In this state of things Nasir-ud din Khatun presented a letter containing the advice of ministers, recommending the giving away of an elephant and a valuable diamond in charity. To that the Emperor wrote in reply, the giving away of an elephant was the practice of the Hindus and of star-worshippers; but he sent four thousand roubles to the chief khal, for him to distribute among the deserving. In the same letter he wrote, saying, "*Casty this creature of dust quickly to the dust (earthly place and corrupt him to the earth without any further value.*" It is said that he wrote a will dividing his kingdom among his sons, and entrusted it to Nasir-ud din Khatun.<sup>1</sup>

On Friday, the 18th 1244 A.H., in the fifty-first year of the reign, corresponding with 1884 A.D. (February 21, 1875 A.D.), after performing morning prayer and repeating the creed, at about one watch of the day, the Emperor departed this life. He was ninety years and some months old, and had reigned fifty years, two months and a half. He was buried near Qasrabad (at Khatibabad) by the tomb of Sheikh Bahadur and other religious worthies, and of Shah Zari Zari-bekah, and some districts of Khatibabad were assigned for the maintenance of his tomb.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Mirza Khatun winds up with the following estimate of the Emperor:—

1. A translation of this alleged will as given in the *Athar-i-Mashhufi* ascribed to Nasir-ud din Khatun, is given by Seiden. The following extracts from it may be noted:—"First, Emperor and two sons, out of the price of the rags worn by me, and with the king the mahabbat. Take the amount and spend it on the street of this helpless creature. Three hundred and five roubles, from the wages of copying the Qu'ran, are in my purse for personal expenses. Distribute them to the poor on the day of my death. . . . Take the remaining necessary articles from the apen of Prince Aliak (Amir), as he is the poorest boy among my sons, and on him lay the responsibility of the lawful or unlawful (protection of my treasure); this helpless person (i.e. Amiragah) is not answerable for them. Scatter the dead on it the duty of the survivors. Cover the top of the coffin on my bier with the means which death cannot take. Avoid the spreading of a rumour and insurrection like (preparation of) enemies and the collection of the Prophet's Nativity (Mawlid)."



The following Chola Office Library MS. 1944, f. 495v, said to have been written with his own hand by Aurangzeb and left under his pillow on his death-bed, is also given by Sir Johnset Barker :—

"I was helpless [in life] and I am deserting helplessness. Whichever of my foes has the good fortune of gaining the kingdom, he should not trouble Khas Baksh, if the latter is consistent with the two provisions of Hujurat and Hukumat. There is not, nor will there [ever] be any work better than *Amal Khin*. *Daam Khin*, the dream of the Deccan, is better than other imperial armaments. With true devotion without *Shikhar-mad* *Amal Khin* will be agreed to the mode of partitioning the empire which was proposed in my lifetime, then there will be no fighting between armies and no slaughter of mankind. Do not disturb my hereditary servants, nor molest them. The occupant of the throne should have [one of] the two subahs of Agra and Delhi, and whoever agrees to take the former [of these] will get four subahs of the old Kingdom—Agra (*ak*), Malwa, Gujarat, and Ajmer and the *shahis* dependent on them,—and four subahs of the Deccan, namely, Kolahat, Berar, Aurangabad, and Bihar and their parts. And whosoever agrees to take the latter [i.e. Delhi] will get the eleven subahs of the old Kingdom—Delhi, Punjab, Kabul, Multan, Tatta, Kashmir, Nagpur, Orissa, Bihar, Alakhad and Oudh." [Another version is given in Fraser's *Khutbat*, 20-21. See Irvine's *Early Mughals*, i. 41-424, pp. 327-30.]

Of all the sovereigns of the House of Timur—say, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, maturity, and justice. In courage, long suffering and sound judgment he was untrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its object. Although he lived for ninety years, his five senses were not at all impaired, except his hearing, and that too only to slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others. He often passed his nights in vigil and devotion, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity.<sup>1</sup> So passed away Aurangzeb whom Barker calls "the greatest of the Great Moghals since him."<sup>2</sup>

The last years of the Emperor were crowded with benevolence. "His domestic life," observes Barker, "was dedicated, as before—

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 383-85.

2. Barker, op. cit., p. 324.

events thickened round his closing eyes. His best-loved daughter-in-law, Jahangzeb Bano, died in Gujarat in March 1763. His rebel son Akbar had died in exile in a foreign soil in 1764. Still earlier his gifted daughter, the poetess Zib-un-nisa, had ended her days in the prison of Delhi (1760). And now Gulshan-ara Begum, the sole survivor among his numerous brothers and sisters, died in 1764, and the news of it dragged out of his heart the pathetic cry, which he repeated again and again, 'She and I alone were left among Shah Jahan's children.' In May 1764, his daughter Nûr-un-nisa and her husband Ibrâhîm (Mirza's son) both died together in Delhi, and next month Bahadur Akbar, the son of Akbar. Two of his grand-children died shortly before his own death (1765), but his ministers scrupulously withheld the news from the ailing man."

The pattern of this double tragedy, domestic and political, rings through Asanagob's last letters written to his sons. One may be quoted in extenso as a sample of the rest.

#### LAST LETTER TO AZAM

'Peace be on you!

'Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong: strength has left my limbs. I come alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in distraction have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or thinking of the peasantry.

'Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not; no trace is left of the days that are no more; and of the future there is no hope.

'My friend has departed, leaving only the skin and bones behind. My son Kîm Bakîsh, who has gone to Shîpûr, is near me. And you are nearer even than he. Your Shâh Akbar is farthest of all. Grandson Muhammad Akbar has, by order of the Great God, arrived near Haidarabad (from Bengal).

'All the soldiers are feeling hapless, bewildered, and perturbed like me, who having chosen to leave my Master, am now in a state of trepidation like quailshov. They think not that we have our

Lord Father (over with us). I brought nothing with me (into the world), and am carrying away with me the fruits of my sin. I know not what punishment will fall on me. Though I have strong hopes of His grace and kindness, yet in view of my evil society does not leave me. What I am parting from my own will, who else should remain to me? (Panic)

Whichever the wind may be,  
I am launching my boat on the water.

Though the Lord, Chetkar will preserve His slaves, yet from the point of view of the outer world, it is also the duty of my son to see that God's creatures and Muslims may not be unjustly slain.

Convey to my grandson (Shahar) (i.e. Shah Shikar) my parting blessing. At the time of going away I do not see him; the desire of meeting remains (unsatisfied). Though the Emperor is, or was to some, afflicted with grief, yet God is the master of our hearts. Shadow of night bears no other fruit than disappointment.

'Forward! Forward! Forward!'

#### IV. AURANGZEB AND THE EUROPEANS

Aurangzeb's relations with the Europeans, except when they were physical or otherwise recalcitrant, were on the whole friendly. Though the days of active patronage of the Christians were over, they did not suffer as might have been expected under Aurangzeb's pontifical regime. Being strong when the Empire was weak, namely at sea, they were distinctly in a diplomatically advantageous position. Besides this, on the west coast, they could and did play a double game as between the Moghuls and the Marathas; they tried to bargain with both. As artillerymen their services were greatly appreciated in that military age. Their contribution to the revenues of the Empire, by way of customs, was not negligible. If not kept friendly they were a source of great irritation and danger to the pilgrims and other traffic at the ports and in the sea. The principal nations concerned in this were the Portuguese and the English; the Dutch and the French played only a secondary rôle, at least in their direct relations with the Empire.

A. The Ports. Khafi Khān gives the following account of the Portuguese in the time of Aurangzeb—

'The officers of the King of Portugal occupied several neighbouring

1. Sarkar's translation from *Be. Museum Add. 28243*—*Ibid.*, p. 383.

ports, and had erected forts in strong positions and under the protection of hills. They built villages, and in all matters acted very kindly towards the people, and did not vex them with oppressive taxes. They allowed a separate quarter for the Mussulmans who dwelt with them, and appointed a head over them to settle all matters of taxes and marriage.<sup>1</sup> But the call to prayer and public assemblies were not permitted in their settlements. If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble : but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease. On the sea they are not like the English, and do not attack other ships which have not received their pass according to rule, or the ships of Arabia and Muscat, with which two countries they have a long-standing treaty, and they attack each other whenever opportunity offers. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands, they look upon it as their prize. But their greatest act of tyranny is this. If a subject of these misbelievers dies, leaving young children, and no grown-up one, the children are considered waste of the State. They take them to their places of worship, their churches, which they have built in every place, and the *piris*, that is to say the priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion, and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Mussulman or a Hindu Brahman. They also make them serve as slaves.

In the *Adilshahi* Kingdom, close to the sea, is the fine and famous fort of Goa, their greatest residence ; and there is a captain there who exercises full power as the past of Portugal. They have also established some other ports and flourishing villages. Besides this, the Portuguese occupy the country from 14 or 15 *has* south of them to the boundaries of the fort of Bombay, which belongs to the English, and to the borders of the territories of the Marathas, which is called the *Matta-shahi* Kingdom. In the rear of the hills of Nalgunda, and in strong positions, difficult of access, near the fort of Gulbargahad, they have built seven or eight other forts, small and great. Two of them, by name Daman and Diu, which they obtained by treaty from Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, they have made very strong, and the villages around are flourishing. Their commonest measure in length about 40 or 50 *has* ; but they are not more than a *has* or a *has* and a half in width. They cultivate the skirts of the hills, and grow the best products, such as sugarcane, pine-apples, and rice ; and coconut trees, and betel-nut vines, in vast numbers, from which they derive a very large revenue.

"They have made for use in their districts a silver coin called *adahi*, worth nine annas. They also use bits of copper which they call *haveras*, and four of these *haveras* pass for a *hala*. The orders of the King (of India) are not carried there. When the people there quarrel, the *giz* is given to the doory, and they leave the management of all affairs, in the hands and out of it, to their *adims*. They have only one wife, and concubines is not permitted by their religion...."

The chief trouble to the Empire, as we saw under Shaikh Jalila, was from the pirates of Chaggaon. Besides the

(2) Pirates of Magha and Arakanese, they included among Chaggaon.

them a good number of Portuguese and half-breed Adventurers. Evidently these had never been tamed by the severe measures taken by Aurangzeb's father. Indeed, when their captain was asked by Shajjada Khan, the Maghal Governor of Bengal, "What did the assemblage of the Magha fix as your salary?" the representative had the audacity to reply, "Our salary was the Imperial donation! We considered the whole of Bengal as our jagir. All the twelve months of the year we made our collection [i.e. booty] without trouble. We had never to bother ourselves about debts and debts; nor had we to render accounts and balances to anybody. Passage over water was (land) survey. We never declined the enhancement of our rents, viz. booty. For years we have left no arrears of [this] revenue. We have with us papers of the division of the booty, village by village, for the last 45 years."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Jafila, on account of his participation with the Arakan campaign and his sudden death, having failed to suppress these Foragi pirates, Shajjada Khan Jafila succeeded to the viceroyalty of Bengal on 8th March, 1684 determined to suppress them once for all. Their cruelties had become intolerable. Manucci describes them as 'men hard of heart, accustomed to kill even little children without regret.' The details of the campaign may be read in Sarkar.<sup>2</sup> On the morning of 25 January, 1685, the fort of Chaggaon, the nest of the pirates (Magha and Foragi), surrendered. "Large numbers of the peasants of Bengal who had been carried off and kept prisoners here, were now released from the Magha oppression and returned to their homes." (*Alough-nama*). "On 27 January, 1685, Buzurg Umarad Khan entered the fort of Chaggaon, comforted the people that their lives were safe, and firmly forbade his soldiers to oppress the people, in order to cause the place to be well-populated and prosperous." (*Shahabuddin*). The place was re-named *Imrahadda*.

1. Sarkar, *Annals of Aurangzeb and Mirrored Empire*, pp. 205-6.

2. From *Shahabuddin Taji's* account as preserved in the *Mashfiha* MS. 389 and the *Alough-nama*—*Ibid.*, pp. 205-26.

3. "Piracy in the Western Seas in the reign of Aurangzeb," *A. Duarte, J. U. B. V. A.*, Jan. 1772.

In the war with the Marathas, as already noticed, the Portuguese, being placed between two fires tried to

(ii) Diplomatic  
 Relations.

avoid war with both without getting scorched. By way of illustration may be cited the conduct of the Portuguese viceroy at the time of Jai Singh. In reply to letters from the latter, in 1685, the former replied averring that he had sent orders to all the captains not to help Shirdji, according to Jai Singh's request.<sup>1</sup> A treaty was signed, in January 1687, between the Portuguese and the Marathas, in which was agreed among other things that the "Farangians should not protect (pardon, *etc.*) in their kingdom a man who rebels against the Marathi King, and should consider him as a rebel against the Portugal King". Yet before Aurangzeb made peace with Shirdji in March 1688, the Portuguese had already come to terms with the Marathas in December 1687, a year after the treaty above referred to.<sup>2</sup> But when Sambhaji invaded Goa together with the rebellious Prince Akbar, in 1689-4, the Portuguese again acted in concert with the Imperials, and again came to terms with the Marathas.<sup>3</sup> Nor were the Marathas more consistent. Sambhaji plotted to seize Goa by treachery. "This rupture with the Portuguese," observes Sadash, "was the worst mistake that the prince could have committed, because it ultimately craped the annihilation of his army through famine. . . . (The prince's only work in Konkan had been, as the English merchants remark, "to range to and fro, as he pleased, with little resistance. He hath taken no stronghold but ruins the country, lays all waste, and burns all towns he comes near." The anxiety in his camp reached an extreme point. The soldiers through fasting retained only the last breath of their lives. So, the baffled prince returned to the ghat on 20th February."<sup>4</sup> The friendship of the Portuguese towards the Marathas once again brought down the Imperial arms into their Northern territory (i.e. Banda and Demant), in 1690, when Marathas Khado (the governor of Raolga) defeated their armies and made prisoners of their subjects. "The victory of Goa at last made peace by humble submission to the Emperor and the offer of presents."<sup>5</sup>

1. *Ibid.* A Treaty between Aurangzeb and the Portuguese, p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

4. Sadash, *Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 299.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

The first English factory within the Mughal Empire was established at Surat in 1612. From there goods

B. The English were exchanged, by the local route, with Agra and Delhi. In the Golkonda kingdom they had an agency at Masulipatam. Further north they established a factory at Hamidpur, 25 miles s. e. of Cuttack, and another at Balasore in 1633. Outside the Empire they bought, in 1640, the site of Fort St. George (Madras), which was 'the first independent station in India. Nagli was opened in 1651, and *wildaka* (or *under*) was obtained from Prince Shuja (1652) permitting the English to trade in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 annually in lieu of all kinds of customs and dues. "The Bengal trade continued to grow rapidly: in 1668 the company exported from the province goods worth £34,000, in 1675 the value rose to £95,000, in 1677 to £108,000, and in 1680 to £180,000. . . . The first British ship sailed up the Ganges from the Bay of Bengal in 1679."<sup>1</sup>

On the strength of the *wildaka* above referred to the English

begin to claim exemption from all duties, (1) War in <sup>2</sup> *Per-* which led to friction and ultimately war. In  
 1611 *per-* which led to friction and ultimately war. In

March 1680 Aurangzeb had also issued a *farman* allowing the English, on payment of a consolidated duty of 2½ p.c. at Surat, to trade freely<sup>2</sup> within the Empire. This was differently interpreted by the two parties. Besides, the English refused to pay exactions like *wildaka*, *patibank*, *jamahat*, etc., and protested against the practice (*masafat-kharaj*) of Imperial and local officials, opening packages of goods in transit and taking away articles at less than market price.

Commenting on this, Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes, "On 10th April 1686 Aurangzeb issued an order that in all provinces there would be two uniform rates of customs duty on imports in *schanz*, namely 2½ p.c. for *Masafat* and 5 p.c. for *Shikhar*. The Mughal Government seems to have found it difficult to assess and levy the *shikhar* per head from the Europeans in the same manner as from the *Shikhar*, and consequently it seems to have altered from (March 1686) a compromise by turning the *shikhar* into an addition to the import duty on their goods, raising the latter to 2½ p.c.

"The *shikhar* of the English in Bengal (a) to escape the duty on the actual value of their imports by a fixed annual payment of Rs. 3000 (as awarded by Shaja in 1652) and (b) to trade abso-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 403-4.

fully free in all other parts of India as payment of customs in Surat (in virtue of Aurangzeb's firman of 1687), are both false and indefensible on any reasoning."<sup>1</sup>

But the English were determined to defend their position by force. A sample of their attitude is seen in Job Charnock's refusal to pay the sum of Rs. 45,000 decreed by an Indian judge against claims put forward by the Indian merchants and brokers employed by the E. I. Co. at Minnehadar (1684-85); consequently Charnock's factory was besieged by Imperial troops in August 1685. The resolute escaped to Hugli in April next. On 26th October 1686, the English provoked a fight and sacked the Moghul town of Hughli. Shajahan Khan, on hearing of this, "decided to crush these disturbances of public peace." In December the English fell back on Satnati (modern Calcutta). In February 1687 they seized the island of Hujli, where they assembled all their land and sea forces in the Bay of Bengal, and burnt and looted Balasore for two days. Finally, they were overwhelmed by Moghul troops, and on 11th June the English evacuated Hujli fort, "carrying off all their ammunition and artillery, their drums beating and their banners flying!" In 1688 Job Charnock's place as Agent in Bengal was taken by Captain Heath who disgraced the name of England by his great crimes, ill-treating Christians and non-Christians, men and women alike. Being killed in his project of wresting Chittagong from the Moghuls, he sailed for Madras in sheer disgust (17th Feb. 1689.)

The Emperor, on hearing of these hostile activities, at once ordered the arrest of all Englishmen, the seizure of all their factories, and the prohibition of all trade and intercourse with them. Within a year (Feb. 1690), 'The English [of Surat] having made a most humble, submissive petition...and [promised] that they would present the Emperor with a fine of Rs. 150,000....and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner....His Majesty pardoned their faults and agreed...that they follow their trade as in former times.' After this the English were allowed to return to Bengal and trade freely without any further trouble. Job Charnock came back from Madras to Satnati as Agent on 14th August. "This was the foundation of Calcutta and of the British Power in Northern India. On 10th February 1690 an Imperial order (Fauz-ul-Jadid) was issued by the grand vizier to the effect of

1. For fuller discussion see Satkar, op. cit., pp. 405-6.



Bengal, allowing the English to carry on their trade in that province without molestation on paying Rs. 1,000 a year in lieu of all customs and other dues.<sup>70</sup> Although this was apparently a victory for the English it was evidently the outcome of the intercession of Ibrahim Khan, the new Subahdar of Bengal, who was friendly to the English and had taken charge of the province in May 1688.

Sir Josiah Child, Chairman of the E. I. Co. in London, had been responsible for the ignominious war in

(ii) *War on the Bengal.* He was ambitious, as we have pointed out elsewhere in this book, to lay "the founda-

tion of a large, well-grounded, vast English dominion in India for all time to come." In the result, "The expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was no other failure." Sir John Child, General and Director-in-Chief of English Factories in India, acting under instructions from home, led a similar expedition with no more honourable results. On 25th April, 1687, he abandoned Surat ("a fool's paradise") for Bombay ("the key of India"). He demanded from the Mughal Governor of Surat "compensation for past injuries and a new charter confirming and extending their privileges." The Mughal reply to such conduct was the obvious. The English factory at Surat was invested by Imperial troops, and the English factors, including among them Benjamin Harris, the Chief of Surat Council, were imprisoned and kept in irons for 16 months (Dec. 1688—April 1690). At the same time the Siddis of Janjira, an ally of the Mughals, attacked Bombay (May 1689) and confined the English within their fort. "Governor Child, therefore, made an abject appeal for pardon, sending a mission to Aurangzeb under G. Wodden and Abraham Navarro (16th Dec. 1689). The Emperor pardoned them, by an order dated 29th December 1689. The English were returned to their old position in the Indian trade on condition of paying a fine of one-and-half lakhs of Rupees, and restoring the goods taken from Indian ships."<sup>71</sup>

European piracy in the Indian Ocean had commenced with

*Vasco da Gama* at the close of the 15th century.

(iii) *English Piracy.* "It excited no moral reprobation in Christians."<sup>72</sup> In 1625, Cotto, captain of an English

1. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

2. Smith, *Oriental History of India*, p. 448.

3. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 411.

4. *Ibid.*

ship licensed by Charles I. plundered two Maghal vessels at the mouth of the Red Sea; and in 1638, Sir William Courten, with a similar charter from the King of England, sent out four ships which robbed Indian vessels and tortured their crews." For these incidents the E. I. Co. at Surat was obliged to pay an indemnity of Rs. 1,70,000.

"In the second half of the 17th century," writes Sarkar, "an even more lawless race of men than the old Europeans appeared and extended their operations to the Indian Ocean, acting generally in single ships and plundering vessels of every nationality. Of these men, chiefly English, the most notorious were Teach, Every, Kidd, Roberts, England and Teo, and many others less known to fame. . . . Roberts alone was credited with the destruction of 420 trading vessels in three years. . . . The chief cause of their immunity lay in the fact that it was business of nobody in particular to act against them. . . . Their friends on shore supplied their wants and gave them timely information of rich prizes to be looked for, or armed ships to be avoided. Officials high in authority winked at their doings, from which they drew a profit. . . . Not only was the greater number of pirates of English blood, but pirate captains of other nationalities often sailed under English colours. The native officials, unable to distinguish the rogues from the honest traders, held the E. I. Co.'s servants responsible for their misdeeds."

In 1681 two pirate ships flying English colours secured a booty of 4 lakhs of Rupees in the Red Sea. The most notorious among these buccannens was Henry Bridgman (alias Every). His crowning achievement, the capture of the *Ganj-i-Sawād*, is thus described by Khif Khān:—

"The royal ship called the *Ganj-i-Sawād*, thus, which there was no larger in the Port of Surat, used to sail every year for the House of God (at Mecca). It was now bringing back to Surat 82 tons of spices in silver and gold, the produce of the sale of Indian goods at Mecca and Jeddah. The captain of this ship was Ibrahim Khān. . . . There were 80 guns and 400 muskets on board, besides other implements of war. It had come within 8 or 9 days of Surat, when an English ship came in sight, of much smaller size, and not having a third or fourth part of the armament of the *Ganj-i-Sawād*. When it came within gun-shot, a gun was fired at it from the royal ship. By ill-luck, the gun burst, and three or four men were killed by its fragments. About the same time, a shot from the enemy struck and damaged the main mast, on which the safety

of the vessel depends. The Englishman perceived this, and being encouraged by it, bore down to attack, and drawing their swords, jumped on board of their opponents. The Christians are not bold in the use of the sword, and there were so many wounds on board the royal vessel that if the captain had made any resistance, they must have been defeated. But so soon as the English began to board, Ibrahim Khan ran down into the hold. There were some Turke girls whom he had bought in Mecca as concubines for himself. He put turbans on their heads and swords into their hands, and trained them to fight. These left into the hands of the enemy, who soon became perfect masters of the ship. They transferred the treasure and many prisoners to their own ship. When they had taken their ship, they brought the royal ship to shore near one of their fortifications, and loaded themselves for a week roasting in plunder, stripping the men, and dishonoring the women, both old and young. They then left the ship, carrying off the men. Several honourable women, when they found an opportunity, threw themselves into the sea, to preserve their chastity, and some others killed themselves with knives and daggers.

This loss was reported to Astaragash, and the commanders of the port of Barm sent some agents which the English had retired at Bombay, with the inscription containing the name of their injured King. Astaragash then ordered that the English factors who were residing at Barm for commerce should be seized. Orders were also given to Hamed Khan, superintendent of the port of Barm, and Sidi Yusef Khan, to make preparations for besieging the fort of Bombay. The evils arising from the English occupation of Bombay were of long standing. The English were not at all alarmed at the first tidings. They knew that Sidi Yusef was afflicted at some slight he had received. But they were more active than usual in building bastions and walls, and in blocking up the roads, so that in the end they made the place quite impregnable. Hamed Khan saw all these preparations, and came to the conclusion that there was no remedy, and that a struggle with the English would result only in a heavy loss to the customs revenue. He made no outward preparations for carrying the royal order into execution, and was not willing that even a man should be lost to the revenue. To save appearance, he kept the English factors in confinement, but privately he endeavored to effect an arrangement. After the confinement of their factors, the English, by way of reprisal, seized upon every Imperial officer, wherever they found one, on tea or on shore, and kept them all in confinement. Six months went on for a long time.\*

The second is of peculiar interest as the author of the narrative, in which we have so much depended, was himself one of the persons employed in the negotiations.

(iv) **Kash**  
**Khan's Embassy.**

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 228-31.

'During these troubles,' writes KIMM KIMM, 'I, the writer of this work, had the misfortune of seeing the English of Bombay, when I was acting as agent for Akbar Pannik Kimm on the part of Siam. I had purchased goods to the value of nearly two tons of opium, and had to convey them from Siam to Akbar Pannik, the frontier of Siam.<sup>1</sup> My route was along the waters through the possessions of the Portuguese and the English. On arriving near Bombay, but while I was yet in the Portuguese territory, in consequence of a letter from Akbar Pannik, I waited ten or twelve days for the agent of Siam Yaka Kimm. Akbar Pannik had been on friendly terms with an Englishman in his old Malabar days, and he had now written to him about giving assistance to the survey. The Englishman sent out the brother of his slave, very kindly inviting me to visit him. The Portuguese captain and my companions were averse to my going there with such valuable property. I, however, put my trust in God, and went to the Englishman. I told the slave's brother, that if the conversation turned upon the capture of the ship, I might have to say unpleasant things, for I would speak the truth. The Englishman's maid advised me to say freely what I deemed right, and to speak nothing but the truth.

'When I entered the fortress, I observed that from the gate there was on each side of the road a line of youths, of twelve or fourteen years of age, well dressed, and having another number on their shoulders. Every step I advanced, strong men with spearing hands, handaxes and well dotted, with five muskets in their hands, were visible on every side. As I went onwards, I found Englishmen standing with long boards of cedar up, and with the same accoutrements and arms. After that I saw musketeers (barbarians), well dressed and armed, drawn up in ranks. Further on I saw Englishmen with white hands, clothed in hose-socks, with muskets on their shoulders, drawn up in two ranks, and in perfect array. Next I saw some English children, handaxes, and wearing pants on the borders of their hats. In the same way, on both sides, as far as the door of the house where he abode, I found drawn up in ranks on both sides nearly 7,000 musketeers dressed and accoutred as for a battle.

'I then went straight up to the place where he was seated on a chair. He wished me Good-day, his usual form of salutation; then he rose from his chair, embraced me, and signed for me to sit down on a chair in front of him. After a few kind inquiries, our discourse turned upon different things, pleasant and unpleasant, bitter and sweet; but all he said was in a kind and friendly spirit towards Akbar Pannik. He inquired why his factory had been placed in confinement. Explaining that God and the Prophet of God would protect me, I answered, "Although you do not acknowledge that shameful action, worthy of the reputation of all mankind was, which was perpetrated by your wicked men, this question you have put to me is as if a wise man should ask where the

1. This was the 'Mistral Akbar Pannik' of Gollanda name who had then recorded himself in the Imperial service.

was is when all the world is filled with his rage." He replied, "Those who have an ill-felling against me cast upon me the blame for the loss of ships. How do you know that this deed was the work of my men? By what satisfactory proof will you establish this?" I replied, "In that ship I had a number of wealthy passengers, and two or three poor ones, destitute of all worldly wealth. I heard from them that when the ship was plundered, and they were taken prisoner, some were, in the dress and with the looks of Englishmen, and on whose hands and bodies there were marks, wounds, and scars, said in their own language, 'We got these scars at the time of the siege of Sool Yakt, but to-day the scars have been removed from our faces.' A person who was with them knew Hindi and Persian, and he translated their words to my friends."

"On hearing this, he laughed loudly, and said, "It is true they may have said so. They are a party of Englishmen, who, having received wounds in the siege of Yakt-Khila, were taken prisoner by him. Some of them parted from me, joined the *Wahabi*, and became blood-drunk. They stayed with Yakt-Khila some time, and then ran away from him. But they had not the face to come back to me. Now they have gone and taken part with the disbelievers, or infidels, who lay violent hands on ships upon the sea; and with them they are serving as pirates. Your sovereign's officers do not understand how they are acting, but cast the blame upon me."

"I willingly replied, "What I have heard about your readiness of reply and your wisdom, I have (now) seen. All praise to your ability for giving off-hand, and without consideration, such an expeditious and available answer! But you must recall to mind that the benedictory Kings of Bhopal and Haidarabad and the good-for-nothing Nizam have not changed the hands of King Asangabad. In the island of Bombay a nice refuge!" I added, "What a manifest declaration of rebellion you have shown in coming upon me!"

"He replied, "We have to send every year a large sum of money, the profits of our commerce, to our country, and the robes of the King of Muscatan are of great weight, and much debated; and in this island, in the course of buying and selling them, great disputes arise. Consequently we have placed our own names on the coins, and have made them current in our own jurisdiction." A good deal more conversation passed between us, and part of it seemed to vex him; but he showed himself throughout very thoughtful of *Abdur Razak Khila*, and mindful of his obligation to protect him. When the interview was over, he proffered me entertainment in their fashion; but as I had reached from the fact that I would not depart from the usual course in the present interview, I accepted only air and talk, and was glad to escape."

*Khila Khila* concludes this account with the following note:—  
'The total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betelnuts and coco-nuts, does not reach to two or three lacs of rupees. The profits of the commerce of these misbelievers, according to re-

port, does not exceed twenty tons of opium. The balance of the money acquired for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, of which they take one or two every year. When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Mecca and Jeddah laden with the goods of Hindustan, they do not interfere with them; but when they return bringing gold and silver and diamonds and coral, their eyes have found out which ship bears the richest burden, and they attack it.<sup>1</sup>

The captives when they could be caught were imprisoned, the

E. I. Co's factors and officers were indemnified,

(1) Mughal imprisoned or threatened with extradition, but  
 Fatawa. European piracy continued triumphant in Indian

waters in the absence of a strong Indian navy. After the Gooli-mawf incident, in September 1695, the Dutch proffered to clear the coast in return for exclusive rights of trading within the Empire free of all duty; but the Emperor declined the offer. An agreement, on the other hand, was made with the English for a similar responsibility in return for half the running cost of each double voyage of the escorting ship. Consequently all the English prisoners were set at liberty on 27th June, 1696. But the same year saw the renewal of piracy in a more virulent form under Captain William Kidd, "destined to blossom into the most notorious pirate who ever bespattered the honour of England."<sup>2</sup> He had been sent out by a syndicate of English noblemen on the *Adventure*, a very strong 30-gun vessel, to destroy piracy in the Indian Ocean! "Arriving off Calicut early in 1699, he took to a life of piracy, shamelessly describing his robberies as legitimate acts of privateering authorized by the King of England. Kidd's success drew many restless English seamen into his party. 'Distributing his forces with the skill of a sea-strategist,' Captain Kidd dominated the Indian Ocean, with his conditions and stores drawn from a base in Madagascar. 'All told, the pirate fleet recruited 120 guns, and was manned by not less than 300 Europeans, of whom the great majority were Englishmen.'<sup>3</sup>

Finally, in December 1698, Asif-ud-Din, the Mughal governor of Surat, surrounded the European factories and gave them an ultimatum either to give an undertaking to guard the coast or to

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 261-62.

<sup>2</sup> W. Haskins, op. cit., p. 405.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

leave the country within ten days. Consequently "the English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy, and signed bonds by which they jointly engaged to make good all future losses. On receiving this agreement, Ayrangzeb resumed his embargo on European trade in the Maghal dominions, and he wrote to the Surat governor to settle the matter in his own way. In the terms of this agreement, 'the Dutch patrooned the Mewar pilgrims and patrolled the entrance to the Red Sea, besides paying Rs. 50,000 to the governor of Surat; the English paid Rs. 30,000 and patrolled the South Indian coast, while the French made a similar payment and policed the Persian Gulf.'<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, "a return prepared in January 1702 showed that the captives at Surat numbered 160 persons, including 25 English officials of the Company....and 15 seamen." Sir John Gayer was imprisoned for 5 years from February 1701, with a few intervals; but this was mainly due to the machinations of Sir Nicholas Wals, President of a new rival English Company established at Surat on 26 April 1699. An ambassador from the King of England, Sir William Morris, waited upon Ayrangzeb for 16 weeks (from 22 Jan. 1701-18 April 1702), but with no result. Another physical outrage was committed off Surat, on 29th Aug. 1705, when two ships returning from Madras were captured. By way of indemnity, Dilar Khan, the governor of Surat, extorted, from Vitul and Keshav Parikh (the Old English Company's brokers), 3 lacs of rupees, and another 3 lacs similarly from the Dutch. But when Ayrangzeb heard of this, he disapproved of Dilar's action and set aside the agreement of 1699 under which the indemnity was demanded. Misadventures of this nature with consequent punishments, followed by physical reprisals, continued, and Ayrangzeb realised the helplessness of the situation in the absence of a strong imperial navy. But he was too much pre-occupied with his Deccan war. Khalfi Khan *repat* with much concern, 'The Mahometans also possess the ready-built forts of Khanderi, Kalitâ, Kasa, and Kitora, in the sea opposite the island fortresses belonging to the Rajahs. Their warlike cruises about these forts, and attack vessels whenever they get the opportunity. The nabobs also, who are sometimes called *bandar*, a lawless set of men belonging to Surat, in the province of Ahmediabad, are notorious for their piracies and they attack from time to

1. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

time the small ships which come from Bandar Abbas and Muskat. They do not venture to attack the large ships which carry the pilgrims. The repulse the English act in the same way as the soldiers."

## V. THE RIDDLE OF AURANGZEB

Aurangzeb's character was a great enigma even to his contemporaries; we are hardly in a better position to

A Great King correctly understood him. His reign was a riddle in contrast. To borrow the familiar

analogy from Dickens, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way—in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest supporters insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only."

Only, on the throne of Delhi, instead of there being 'a king with a large jaw,' there was one with a large nose<sup>1</sup> and an itching jaw: the queen with a plain face<sup>2</sup> was simply out of the picture.

A modern writer has pronounced Aurangzeb "a puzzling compound of contradictions."<sup>3</sup> Bernier found him, 'reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation.' He further said that 'every person in the court, excepting only his brother, Durrā, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character.'<sup>4</sup> This should be sufficient caution for all modern critics of Aurangzeb's strange enigmatic character. We shall here only make an attempt to present the Imperial character in all his changing colours, instead of trying to dogmatise.

Aurangzeb's letters, of which over 2,000 are extant, are an

1. B. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 305.

2. Dr. Geradil Girard, who saw Aurangzeb on 21st March, 1699, in the Decree, speaks of his white beard, blackened nose, contrasting vividly with his olive skin: "he was of a few stature, with a large nose; slender and stooping with age."—Lange-Poole, op. cit., p. 137.

3. Lange-Poole, Aurangzeb, p. 27.

4. Bernier, French, p. 79.



invaluable document throwing abundant light upon his marvellous character. In one of these, written to his father

Amangata's  
to his father. Still farther, he writes, "It is clear to your Majesty that God Almighty bestows His bounty upon one who discharges the duty of cherishing his subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear to mine ears that a man is not fit to be a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self-indulgence and idleness."<sup>1</sup>

To an officer who suggested to Amangata that, for consideration of health, he should spare himself, he is reported to have said :

"Being born the son of a King and placed on the throne, I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others. . . . It is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it befalls me to control; not are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State." He also added, "There can surely be but one opinion among wise men as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care. . . . Alas! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence, we need no such officious counsellors. Our wives, too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury."<sup>2</sup>

Again, in another letter to his father, Amangata expressed his sense of the responsibilities of kingship thus :—"My elevation to the throne has not, as you imagine, filled me with insolence and pride. You know, by more than forty years' experience, how burdensome an ornamental crown it, and with how sad and gloomy an heart a monarch returns from the public gaze. . . . ~~The greatest con-~~ <sup>quarers</sup> are not always the greatest kings. The nations of the north have often been subjugated by more civilized barbarians, and the most extensive conquests have in a few short years crumbled to pieces. It is the truly great king who ~~subdues~~ <sup>subdues</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>in the</sup> ~~kingdoms~~ <sup>kingdoms</sup> of his life to govern his subjects with equity."<sup>3</sup>

1. E. & D. op. cit., VII, p. 285.

2. *Ibid.*, op. cit., pp. 285-86.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-8.

That these were no idle sentiments diplomatically expressed to deceive the world is borne out by the wise regulations issued by the Emperor for the guidance of his revenue officials. That he had also others to set according to them has been amply demonstrated by his own civil achievements as Viceroy of the Densan. We have space only for a few of them by way of illustration.

#### REVENUE REGULATIONS

##### I

'The officers of the present and former ranks of the Empire of China must from end to end, should collect the revenue and other [taxes] from the subjects in the proportion and manner fixed in the *Imperial Law* and *shihing* orthodox *Fukh*, and [according to] whatever has been meant and sanctioned in this greatest mandate in pursuance of the sacred and unswerving Tradition—

'And they should not demand more taxes every year, but should consider delay and procrastination as the cause of their disgrace in this world and the next.

*First*.—They should practice benevolence to the cultivators, inquire into their condition, and meet themselves judiciously and tactfully, so that [the cultivators] may joyfully and heartily try to increase the cultivation, and every article that may be brought under tillage.

[*Commentary on the sample*.]—'Concerning what has been written in the first clause the wish of the great Emperor is, "display benevolence and good management which are the causes of the increase of cultivation. And that [benevolence] consists in this that under no name or custom should you take a *shih* or *shihun* above the fixed amount and rate. By no means should the *shihun* be oppressed or cultivated in any way. The manager of affairs at the place should be a protector [of rights] and just [in carrying out these orders]."

*Second*.—..... If you find that the peasants are unable to procure the implements of tillage, advance to them money from the State in the form of a *taipien* after taking security.

*Third*.—..... [*Commentary*.]—..... 'As the Emperor likes *shihun* and justice, he gave orders that the officers should kindly wait for one year [for the return of a fugitive *shihun*] and, in the case of default cultivation or loss, they should pay to him any surplus left above the Government revenue.'.....

1. Seeber, *Mingai Administration*, pp. 157-202. The *senkoku* containing these was issued in 1486-87 A.D.

*Shiki.*—In places where no title or revenue has been laid on a cultivated land, the whatever ought to be fixed according to the Riky Law. If it be revenue, for the revenue of such an amount that the ryots may not be ruined by the payment of it: and for no reason exceed half (the crop), even though the land may be capable of paying more. Where the amount is fixed, accept it, provided that if it is more, the Government shall not exceed one-half, but the ryots be ruined by the exaction. Otherwise reduce the former share and fix whatever the ryots can easily pay. If the land is capable of paying more than the fixed amount do not take more.

*Shimada.*—You may change fixed revenue (Mussu) into share of crop (Mugamasa), or vice versa, if the ryots agree to it: otherwise not.

*Nishi.*—In lands subject to fixed land revenue, if any non-perventible calamity visiteth a zone, shall you ought to inquire carefully, and grant remission to the extent of the calamity, as required by truth and the nature of the case. And in receiving produce from the peasants, see that it not exceed half the produced crop be left to the ryots.

*Commentary.*—“...In the case of fields which have been flooded, or where the sub-soil has been exhausted, or any non-perventible calamity has devastated the crop before reaping, so that the ryots have secured nothing, nor has time enough left for a second crop to be sown before the beginning of the next year—consider the revenue as remitted....

# VI

“Beak-Oh, thrifty and obedient to orders, hope for Imperial favours and honours—

“That all the desires and aims of the Emperor are directed to the increase of cultivation, and the welfare of the peasantry and the people at large, who are the mainstay of the State and a trust from the Creator (glorified be His name),

.....(Similar regulations).....

*Furetsu.*—“Report the names of those among the under and head of the villages, who have served with uprightness and devotion, and by following the established rules in every matter have proved themselves good officers,—so that on the result may be rewarded according to their attention to the gain of the State and their honesty. But if any have acted in the opposite manner, report the fact to the Emperor, that they may be dismissed from the service, put on their defence and explanation for their conduct, and receive the punishment of their irregular acts.”

*Fukushima.*—With great diligence gather together the papers of the accounts at the right time. In the village in which you stay, every day send from the officers the daily account of the collection of revenue and one and prison current, and from the other postpayers the daily account.

I. I.e. If the normal produce is 10 mounds, and 4 mounds have been destroyed by any calamity, take only six as revenue.

of the collection of revenue and such (miscellaneous) every fortnight, and the balance in the treasury of Jatsindia and the Jara's were kept every month, and the month of the fiscal revenue and the Jara's land (annual revenue settlement) and the incomes and expenditures of the treasury of the Jatsindia were kept by Jara's. After looking through these papers demand the returning of whatever has been spent without being accounted for, and then send them to the Imperial Record Office. Do not have the papers of the spring harvest collected up to the autumn harvest."

It must have been clear to the reader from the above evidence that Asanggab had the right perspective for the role of an agricultural land like ours. Despite the loss in revenue it involved, Asanggab, it is well known, upon after his accession, revisited no less than 80 different towns and duties. "The movements of large armies through the country, especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past, and scarcity of rain in some parts," observes Khali Khali, "had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the *chakhi* (tax) which was collected on every highway (*gaozi*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also revisited the *paodai*, a ground or house tax, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the haddies, the porter, and the green-grocer, to the draper, jeweller, and banker. Something was paid according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded less (of rupees). Other taxes levied and unfruitful, as the *sur-chakhi*, *sur-chakhi*, *sur-gaozi*, the *chakhi* (grazing tax) of the *Bandras*, the *hara's*, the collections from the fairs held at the festival of Mohammedan saints, and at the *jatra* or fairs of the Infidels, held near Hindu temples, throughout the country fir and wife, where less of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits, on gambling-houses, on brethren, the dues, thank offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in more of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these, the title of *sons*, which hitherto brought in twenty-five lakhs of rupees, was revisited to alleviate the heavy cost of grain."

In spite of stringent orders, however, many of these forbidden  
 dues continued to be exacted by selfish local

Aurangzeb's  
 Maliks.

officials or *Amildars*. Shah Kili gives five reasons for this:

"Firstly, because throughout the  
 Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread  
 of punishments remained in the hearts of *Amildars*, *Jamindars* and  
*Amotdars*. Secondly, because the revenue officers, through inaction,  
 or want of consideration or with an eye to profit, contrary  
 to what was intended, made deductions (for these causes) from the  
*Amildars* accounts of the *Amotdars*. So the *Amotdars*, under the  
 pretext that the amount of the crown was entered in their *malikana*  
*papers*, declined to collect the *rahali* and many other of the  
 abolished imports, and even increased them. When reports reached  
 the government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders)  
 were punished with a diminution of *mansab*, and the delegation of  
*manab*-holders to their divisions. The *manab*-holders forbade the col-  
 lection of the imports for a few days, and then retired. After a  
 while, the offenders, through their patrons or the management of  
 their agents, got their *mansab* restored to its original amounts. So  
 the regulation for the abolition of most of the imports had no effect."

Lane-Poole's comments on this are worthy of attention.  
 "Cynical critics," he observes, "have explained Aurangzeb's in-  
 effectual policy as an ingenious contrivance to carry favour to  
 the people without impoverishing the treasury. Dr. Cauri seems to  
 incline to the opinion that the Emperor conceived at his Amir's mis-  
 deeds is order to gain their support. A certain amount of con-  
 ciliation of powerful chiefs, and even winking at their irregularities  
 is inseparable from a quasi-feudal administration, and Aurangzeb  
 may have felt himself compelled sometimes to shut his eyes lest  
 worse things should happen. The plain interpretation, however,  
 of the remission of taxes as an act of bounty dictated by the Quranic  
 injunction of benevolence to 'the needy and the use of the weak'  
 is simpler and more consistent with all we know of the Emperor's  
 disposition. He was not the man to condone an illegal act, or to  
 the oppression of the poor."<sup>1</sup> We are disposed to agree. Aurang-  
 zeb's wise counsel to his son Shah Alam may be taken as represent-  
 ing his correct attitude in such matters: "An Emperor ought to stand

1. J. & D., op. cit., p. 148.

2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 110-1.

midway between gentleness and severity. If either of these two qualities overrode the other, it becomes a cause of the ruin of his throne, because in case of excessive gentleness, the people display indolence, while the increase of business wastes away treasure.<sup>1</sup>

Not merely Indian writers but also foreigners bear testimony to the fair administration of justice under Aurangzeb's Justice.<sup>2</sup> Ovington, "who derived his opinions and information from Aurangzeb's 'best partial critics, the English merchants at Bombay and Surat,' says that the Great Mogul 'is, the main organ of justice....He generally determines with exact justice and equity: for there is no pleading of privilege or privilege before the Emperor, but the meanest man is as soon heard by Aurangzeb as the chief Officer: which creates the Officers very dissatisfied of their actions and punctual in their payments.'<sup>3</sup> The author of the *Mind-of-Alam*, Bahadur Khan, gives us the following picture of Aurangzeb the Judge:—

'In his sacred Court no improper conversation, no word of backbiting or of falsehood is allowed. His courtiers on whom his light is reflected, are cautioned that if they have to say anything which might injure the character of an absent one, they should express themselves in discreet language and in full detail. He appears two or three times every day in his Court of Audience with a pleasing countenance and mild look, to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without hindrance, and as he listens to them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality. If any person talks too much, or acts in an improper manner, he is never displeased, and he never kills his broes. His courtiers have often desired to punish people thus, showing as much boldness, but he remarks that by fearing their very words, and seeing their gestures, he implies a habit of forbearance and tolerance. All bad characters are expelled from the city of Delhi, and the same is ordered to be done in all places throughout the whole empire. The duties of preserving order and regularity among the people are very efficiently attended to, and throughout the empire, notwithstanding its great extent, nothing can be done without meeting with the due punishment enjoined

1. Sarkar, *Aurengzeer*, p. 85. Or, as he expressed it in other words:—'Don't be so tall that [your subjects] would spit you out of their mouths, nor be so mean that they may spit you down.' *Ibid.*, p. 85.

2. "Administration of Justice in the Mughal Empire," *Sci. Res. Society, Calcutta Review*, March 1941. Also by the same writer: "Administration of Justice in Aurangzeb's time," in *I. H. Q.*, XXI, 2 (June 1945), pp. 104-4.

3. Ovington, p. 108, cited by Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

to the Mohammedan law. Under the shelter of cups and pipes he never loses sight of drink."

This character is further confirmed by Dr. Castrì, who saw him in the Deewan in 1866. Seated upon a square gilt throne, raised two steps above the dais, inclosed with silver balustrade, "they gave him his scepter and bowler, which he laid down on his left side within the throne. Then he made a sign with his hand for those that had business to draw near; who being come up, two secretaries, standing, took their petitions, which they delivered to the King, telling him the contents. I advis'd to see him indorse them with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seem'd to be pleas'd with the employment."<sup>1</sup>

Great and incessant activity is a delirium to great achievement. Anangab's shared this quality of his forefathers. Both Akbar and Shah Jahan never spared themselves; Humâyn's and Jahângir's love of ease were the cause of their comparative failure. Sher Shah made his mark by his watchful and unceasing labours. Anangab, if ever he needed the lesson, knew his history well. "An emperor," he told his son Mansûr, "should never allow himself to be fond of ease and inclined to retirement, because the rapid *dur* (decay) of the decline of kingdoms and the destruction of royal power is this undesirable habit. Always be moving about, as much as possible.

It is bad for both emperor and water to remain at the same place.

The water grows putrid and the king's power slips out of his grasp."

His motto appears to have been like that of his great western contemporary Louis XIV., whom he resembled in many ways except in his Puritanism—"*Un bon work hard is better than it is to be idle and prostrating himself to God, to fast and trying to reach man, to wish to play without hard work.*" Anangab himself wrote, "So long as a single breath of this mortal life remains, there is no release from labour and work."<sup>2</sup> Here is his daily routine as given by Prof. Sachse:—

1. E. & T., op. cit. VII, p. 158.
2. Leco-Prade, op. cit. p. 100.
3. Sachse, *Amirshah*, p. 21.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

## A. M.

- 5 .... Wake-up—Morning Prayer—Devotional reading.  
 7-10 .... Justice in Private Chamber.  
 8-10 .... Justice—Review—Elephant Fight.  
 9-15 .... Public Duties.  
 11 .... Private Audiences.  
 11-50 .... Sleep—Baths.

## P. M.

- 1 .... Wake-up.  
 1-30 .... Private Chamber—Study—Business—After Prayer—Baths.  
 3-50 .... Evening meals in the Private Audience Hall—Sleep.  
 5-40 .... Sleep in the *Shed-i-Khila*.  
 7-30 .... Court dismissed—Late Prayer.  
 8 .... In the Harem—Religious meditation—Sleep.

"This routine was varied on three days of the week. On Friday, the Islamic Sabbath, no Court was held. Wednesday was reserved for justice, and no public duties were then held, but the Emperor went straight from the studies to the Private Audience Hall, charged with the Law Officers, chief, wealth, scholars, theologians (scholar), Judges, and the Prefect of Police for the City. None else was admitted unless his presence was needed. The Emperor went on personally judging cases till noon.

"On Thursday he gave his Court of hall-inquiry, as we get on Saturday in British India. The usual routine was followed up to noon; but there was no afternoon Court, nor any assembly in the *Shed-i-Khila* at night. The whole evening was spent in prayer and sacred reading, and the world and its distractions were kept out.

"If we may believe the Court historian (*Alamgiri-nama*), Aurangzeb kept only three hours out of twenty-four.<sup>1</sup>

Through half-a-century of Imperial rule, through war and peace, through sickness and health, through sorrows and joys, Aurangzeb strictly adhered to his sense of duty and passion for work. Bombar records a wonderful illustration:—

"*Aurangzeb, notwithstanding his serious indisposition, continued to occupy his mind with the affairs of Government, and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Murad, in the event of his death, to release the King from confinement; but he was constantly directing letters to Khurram, urging him to be faithful and rigid in the discharge of his duty; and on the 25th day of his illness, during the crisis of the disorder, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the Council, for the purpose of unseating those who might believe he was dead, and of preventing a public tumult, or any accident by which Shah-Jahan might effect his escape. The same reason induced him to visit*

1. Barker, *Aurangzeb*, pp. 177-84.



that usually on the 7th, 8th and 10th days; and, when, almost always inevitable, on the 12th day, when usually recovered from a swoon as deep and long that his death was generally expected, he sent for the *Arak* [nephews], and two or three of the principal *Orons*, for the purpose of verifying his edicts. He then desired the attendants to make him lie in the bed; called for paper and ink that he might write to *Erhan-kun*, and dispatched a messenger for the *Grand Seal*, which was placed under *Kanchuan-lapun's* care enclosed in a small bag, which was furnished with a signet which he always kept fastened to his arm; wishing to satisfy himself that the *Princes* had not made use of this instrument to promote any sinister designs. "I was present," continues Barriat with great admiration, "when my *Arak* became acquainted with all these particulars, and heard him exclaim, 'what strength of mind! what incredible courage! Heaven reward thee, *Kang-ah*, for greater achievements! Thou art not yet destined to die!'"

*Sadras-jemadar*, "Historians have observed that though he died in his 60th year, he (*Kang-ah*) retained to the last almost all his faculties unimpaired. His memory was wonderful: 'he never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard.' All his physical powers retained their vigour to the end, except a slight deafness of the ear, which afflicted him in old age, and a lameness of the right leg, which was due to his doctor's unskillful treatment of an accidental dislocation."

*Kishinawa* writes, "In reviewing these laborious undertakings, it is impossible not to admire the unswerving spirit with which *Kang-ah* bore up against the difficulties and misfortunes that overshadowed his declining years. He was near sixty-five when the *Orons* resolved to begin on this long war and had already his eighty-four years to pass in the campaign of *Shang-pai*. The fatigues of marches and camps were little added to such an age; and, in spite of the display of the luxury in his camp equipage, he suffered hardships that would have tried the constitution of a younger man....The impossible streams, the flooded valleys, the rocky bottoms and narrow ways caused still greater difficulties.... The violent heats, in tents and during marches, were decreasing at other seasons, and often rendered overpowering by failure of water; general famine and pestilence were more than once, in addition to the scarcity and sickness to which his own camp was often liable; and all was aggravated by accounts of the havoc and destruction committed by the enemy in the countries beyond the reach of their

1. Barriat, *French*, pp. 138-4.

2. Sadras, *Short History of Kang-ah*, p. 492.

visitation. But in all these disarrangements Aurangzeb retained his vigour. He alone conducted every branch of his government, in the most minute detail. He planned campaigns, and issued instructions during their progress; drawings of forts sent for him to fix up the points of attack; his letters enforce measures for keeping open the roads in the Afghan country, for quelling disturbances at Multan and Agra, and even for recovering possession of Candahar; and, at the same time, there is scarcely a detached narrative or a survey narrative in the *Dakn* without some orders from Aurangzeb's own hand.

"The appointment of the lowest revenue officer of a district, or the selection of a clerk in an office, is not beneath his attention; and the conduct of all these functionaries is watched,<sup>1</sup> by means of spies and of prying inquiries from all quarters, and they are constantly kept on the alert by admonitions founded on such information. This attention to particulars is not favourable to real progress of business, any more than it is indicative of enlarged genius; but combined, as it was in Aurangzeb, with unremitting vigilance in all the great affairs of the State, it shows an activity of mind that would be wonderful of any age."<sup>2</sup>

All that has been stated above should go to substantiate Lane-Poole's just estimate of Aurangzeb's being "inconceivably his father's superior—a wise man, a juster king, a more discreet and benevolent ruler." "His greatest administrator Munim," he adds, "admits that ~~highest~~ <sup>Aurangzeb</sup> was ~~very~~ <sup>very</sup> great."<sup>3</sup> "He further states, 'All we know of his methods of government, . . . goes to prove that his fine sentiments were really the ruling principles of his life. No act of injustice according to the law of Allah, has been proved against him.'<sup>4</sup> Even Bender does not fail to observe, "yet even those who may maintain that the discourteousness of country, birth and education afforded no palliation of the conduct pursued by Aurang-zebe (towards his

1. In his last will and testament Aurangzeb wrote,—"The main pillar of government is to be well informed in the news of the Kingdom. Negligence for a single instant becomes the cause of disaster for long years. The escape of the worthy Solvi took place through [my] carelessness, and I have to atone here [against the Muslims] to the end of my life, for the death of [?].—*Journal, Asiaticus*, p. 36.

2. *Delusions, History of India*, pp. 668-9.

3. *Lane-Poole, op. cit.*, p. 36.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

father and brothers), must admit that this Prince is endowed with a versatility and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman, and a great King.<sup>1</sup> If the words of his descendant is correct, Sath Jahn, too, appears to have foreseen that 'the education and intelligence of Arungzeb make it necessary that he (alone) would undertake this difficult task (of ruling India).<sup>2</sup> Dryden only translates this sentiment into verse when he writes :

"This Atlas must no longer state upheld :

Is inward cool, but in performance bold :

He sees their (his brothers') virtues in himself alone....

Despite this, however, it is also true as V. A. Smith holds. When he is judged as a sovereign he must be pronounced a failure.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Quatrecaille Khan to emphasize 'his rights as an independent ruler in the practical government of an empire.' Hence, 'in spite of his devotion, austerity, and justice, courage, long-suffering, and sound judgment,' every plan and project that he formed came to little good, and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object' (Khalil Khan). Smith adds, "The course of the kindly Mahanadiah critic do not exhaust the list of Arungzeb's defects as a ruler." But we may not agree with him in his enumeration of all the details.

"He never trusted anybody, and consequently was ill served. His cold, calculating temperament rarely permitted him to indulge in love for man or woman, and few indeed were the persons who loved him. His reliance on mere cunning as the principal instrument in statecraft resulted to a certain smallness of mind, and, moreover, was ineffective in practice. Although he had many opportunities for winning military distinction, he failed to show ability as a general whether before or after his accession. His proceedings in the Deccan during the latter part of his life were simply ridiculous in military operations. In fact, nothing in the history of Arungzeb justifies positively in classing him a great King. His risky gaming was mainly directed, first to winning, and then to keeping the throne. He did nothing for literature or art. Rather it should be said that he did less than nothing, because he discouraged both."<sup>4</sup>

1. Jamier, *Travel*, p. 100.

2. *Surian Anecdotes*, pp. 40-41.

3. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 447-48.

To completely deny Arna'gab all title to greatness would be fatal. The disposition of his last campaigns need not blind us to his earlier military achievements, both as Prince and as Emperor. Arna'gab's great weakness was, indeed, his magnificence, the natural corollary to which was over-centralization in administration, both civil and military. But given his energy and intellectual power, this need not have proved fatal; it was a weakness common to his tribe—men of power and overmastering ambition. There was undoubtedly a certain lack in his character—"a certain smallness of mind," indeed—the generosity and openness of mind common to all his predecessors. It was on account of this that "all his self-restraint, his sense of duty, his equity, and laborious care of his people, counted for nothing in their hearts against his cold reserve and distrust." "His very asceticism and economy and simplicity of life were repugnant to a nation accustomed to the splendour of Sultān Jalāl's magnificent court. The mass of his subjects felt that if they must have an alien in race and religion for their king, at least let him show himself a king right royally, and shed his sovereign radiance on his subjects, even while he emptied their purses upon his stately pleasures. This was just what Arna'gab could not do. The very *hifẓ* of his nature kept his people at a distance, while his inflexible uprightness and rigid virtue chilled their hearts."

In the ultimate analysis, it is possible to attribute all Arna'gab's failures and defects to his religious character. "His character," says Lane-Poole, "is that of the Puritan, with all its fiery zeal, its ascetic restraint, its self-denial, its uncompromising tenacity of righteous purpose, its high ideals of conduct and duty: and also with its cold severity, its curbed impulses, its formalism, its morbid distrust of 'poor human nature,' its essential conservatism. Arna'gab possessed many great qualities, he practised all the virtues; but he was lacking in the one thing essential in a leader of men; he did not love life. Such a life-long sentiment of regret, not to enjoy this life as it comes, is fatal to the success of man."

#### IDEAL MUSLIM MONARCH

The reader will be amply rewarded for his patience to go

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 161-2.

through the following description of the Emperor, dwelling on the worth-traits of his character :—

'He is known to the readers of this work,' writes Sherear Kaba, *author of the Mir'at-i Alam*, "that this humble slave of the Almighty is going to describe in a correct manner the excellent character, the worthy labours and the refined morals of this most virtuous monarch, *Abul-Manssur Mahmud bin Muhammad Anwar*." Although, according to his own witness, seen with his own eyes. This Emperor, a great worshipper of God by natural propensity, is remarkable for his rigid attachment to religion. He is a follower of the doctrines of Imam Abu Hanifa, [may God be pleased with him], and establishes the five fundamental doctrines of the Koor. Having made his attention, he always occupies a great part of his time in education of the Dault, and says the usual prayers, first in the masjid and then at home, both in congregation and in private, with the most heartfelt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays and other sacred days, and he reads the Friday prayers in the *Jami Masjid* with the common people of the Muhammadan faith. He keeps vigils during the whole of the sacred nights, and with the light of the favour of God illumines the lamps of religion and prosperity....

'In privacy he never sits on the throne. He gave away in alms before his accession a portion of his allowances of lawful food and clothing, and now devotes to the same purpose the income of a few villages in the district of Delhi, and the proceeds of two or three salt-producing tracts, which are appropriated to his pious gains....and although, on account of several obstacles, he is unable to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, yet the care which he takes to promote facilities for pilgrims to that holy place may be considered equivalent to the pilgrimage.

'From the dawn of his understanding he has always refrained from prohibited meats and passions, and from his great holiness has adopted nothing but that which is pure and lawful. Though he has collected at the foot of his throne those who inspire reverence in joyous assemblies of pleasure, in the shape of singers who possess lovely voices and clever instrumental performers, and in the entertainment of his reign some oases used to hear them sing and play; and though he himself understands music well, yet now for several years past, on account of his great anxiety and old decay, and observance of the tenets of the great Imam (Shafi'), [may God's mercy be on him], he entirely abstains from this amusement. If any of the slaves and musicians becomes weary of his calling, he makes an allowance for him, or grants him leave for his maintenance.

'He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he ever use vessels of silver or gold.....In combination of their rank and merit he shows much honour and respect to the *Sayyids*, saints and learned men, and through his cardinal and clerical officers, the religious doctrines of Hanifa and of our pure religion have obtained such prominence throughout the wide territories of Hindustan as they never had in the reign of any former king.

Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding Public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of Hindu idolaters people have been burned down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty personally teaches the sacred talwar to many infants with weapons, and invests them with the khilats and other honours. Alms and donations are given by this foundation of generosity in such abundance, that the expenses of past ages did not give even a hundredth part of the amount. In the sacred month of Ramezi's star-dominant season, and in other months less than that amount, are distributed among the poor. Several establishments have been established in the capital and other cities in which food is served out to the helpless and poor, and in places where there were no restaurants for the lodging of the travellers they have been built by the Emperor. All the mosques in the empire are repaired at public expense. Imams, critics in the daily prayers, and readers of the Koran, have been appointed to each of them, so that a large sum of money has been and is still laid out in these disbursements. In all the cities and towns of this extensive country pensions and salaries and lands have been given to learned men and professors, and stipends have been fixed for scholars according to their abilities and qualifications.

<sup>1</sup> As it is a great object with this Emperor that all Mohammedans should follow the principles of the religion as expounded by the most competent law officers and the followers of the Hanafi persuasion, and as these principles, in consequence of the different opinions of the Shiiis and wahtis which have been delivered without any authority, could not be distinctly and clearly taught, and as there was no book which embraced them all, and as until many books had been collected and a man had obtained sufficient leisure, means and knowledge of theological subjects, he could not satisfy his inquiries on any disputed point, therefore His Majesty, the protector of the faith, determined that a body of valiantly learned and able men of Hayfstan should take up the voluminous and most trustworthy works which were collected in the royal library, and having made a digest of them, compose a book which might form a standard code of the law, and afford to all an easy and available means of ascertaining the proper and authoritative interpretation. The chief conductors of this difficult undertaking was the most learned man of the time, Shakh Nizam, and all the members of the society were very handsomely and liberally paid, so that up to the present time a sum of 200,000 rupias has been expended in this valuable compilation, which contains more than 100,000 laws. When the work (*Farahi Akhbari*) with God's pleasure, is completed, it will be for all the world the standard exposition of the law, and render every one independent of Mohammedan doctors. Another readiness standing this design is, that with a view to afford facility to all the possessors of perfection, Chahi Akbar, son of the great and the most celebrated Mulla Mirza Hakim, at

Quran, and his several pupils have been ordered to translate the work into Persian.....

The Emperor is perfectly acquainted with the cosmographies, traditions and law. He always studies the compilation of the great Imam Muhammad Ghazali (may God's mercy be on him!), the minutes from the writings of Sheikh Shams Vahye Masuli (may his tomb be sanctified!), and the works of Abul Khirak, and other similar books. One of the greatest excellences of this virtuous monarch is, that he has learned the Quran by heart. Though in his early youth he had committed to memory some chapters of that sacred book, yet he learned the whole by heart after ascending the throne. He took great pains and showed much perseverance in impressing it upon his mind. He writes a very good *Nasta'liq* hand, and has acquired perfection in this art. He has written two copies of the holy book with his own hand, and having finished and adorned them with ornaments and marginal lines, at the expense of 10000 rupees, he sent them to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. He also wrote an excellent *Nasta'liq* and *Shikasta* hand. He is a very elegant writer in prose, and has acquired proficiency in versification, but agreeably to the words of God—"Poets lead in falsehood"<sup>1</sup>—he abstains from practicing it. He does not like to hear verses except those which contain a moral. "Ye praise Almighty God he never turned His eye towards a flatterer, nor gave His ear to a poet."

The Emperor has given a very liberal education to his lecturers and noble children, who, by virtue of his attention and care, have reached to the summit of perfection, and made great advances in sciences, devotion, and piety, and in learning the manners and customs of princes and great men. Through his instructions they have learnt the book of God by heart, obtained proficiency in the sciences and polite literature, writing the various hands, and in learning the Turki and the Persian languages.

In the manner, the ladies of the household also, according to his orders, have learnt the fundamental and necessary tenets of religion, and all devote their time to the adoration and worship of the Deity, to reading the sacred Quran, and performing virtuous and pious acts. The excellence of character and the purity of morals of this holy monarch are beyond all expression. As long as nature maintains the tree of existence, and keeps the garden of the world fresh, may the plant of the property of this preserver of the garden of dignity and honor continue fruitful!<sup>2</sup>

This eulogium, however as it may appear, from a strictly Muslim view-point, was not altogether unreserved by Aurangzeb. "It is not," as Lane-Poole properly observes, "more adulatory than Evelyn's letter to Colbert of the same period. . . There is nothing in the portrait which is inconsistent with the whole tenor of Aurangzeb's career or with the testimony of European eye-witnesses. Exaggeration

1. S. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 226-62.

rated as it must seem to a western reader, the Indian historian's picture of his great Emperor does not present a single touch which cannot be traced in the writings of contemporary Persian and English travellers, and in the statements of other native chroniclers who were less under the influence of the sifter for the pastime. Dr. Causer draws a precisely similar picture of the Emperor as he was in his old age in 1606.<sup>1</sup>

If Aurangzeb had shared the scepticism or liberal outlook of his forefathers, he would have strengthened instead of undermining the foundations of the Empire. He was more Hindu than any of them had been; but his Islamic conviction reflected against all the traditions created by them in India. "For the first time" in their history the Mughals behold a True Muslim in their Emperor—a Muslim as sternly representative of himself as of his people around him, a king who was prepared to die, his death for the sake of the faith.<sup>2</sup> His youthful enthusiasm when he ascended the throne of Delhi, but a ripe man of forty, deeply experienced in the policies and prejudices of the various sections of his subjects. He must have been fully conscious of the dangerous path he was pursuing, and well aware that to run a tilt against every Hindu sentiment, to alienate his Persian adherents, the flower of his general staff, by deliberate opposition to their cherished ideas, and to disgust his nobles by suppressing the luxury of a jovial court, was to invite revolution. Yet he chose this course, and adhered to this with unflinching resolve through close on fifty years of unchallenged sovereignty. The flame of religious zeal blazed as hotly in his soul when he lay dying among the ruins of his Grand Army of the Deccan, an old man on the verge of ninety, as when, in the same fatal province, but then a youth in the springtime of life, he had thrown off the purple of viceregal state and adopted the mean garb of a mendicant fakir.<sup>3</sup>

A sense of failure, defeat, and despair came over Aurangzeb

in his closing years. His pathetic letters to his son, the Prince of Wales, cited already, breathe regret and disappointment; there is also in them a note of uncertainty and dejection. But in his lifetime he had no misgivings as to his goal; he had pursued what he considered to be

1. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-98. See "Ideals of Mughal Sovereignty" by Herbert Percy Causer in J. O. P. R. S., XIV, pt. 2, July 1941.

2. Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.*, p. 70.



his God-appointed task, relentlessly and with great cost. He sought to convert *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of infidelity) into *Dar-ul-Islam* (land of the true faith). It was necessary for this that he deflowered his ladies, murdered his brothers, killed his son Akbar, antagonized the Rajputs, Jits, Sikhs, and Marathas, suppressed the two Sikh kingdoms of Bilagar and Goharda, looted the Jaisya, forbade the writing of court-chronicles, banished music, changed the calendar to the orthodox lunar system (in place of the solar innovations), discontinued the *Nawaz* celebrations and anniversary-weightings of the Emperor against gold, silver, etc. and substituted true Hanafi Muslims in place of Hindus, Sikhs, and other infidels and heretics in his service whenever he could. Some of his measures were really good, such as the confirmation of *khilaf*, prohibition of liquor and gambling, forbidding of self, burning of churches in the celebration of *Idol* and the regulation of public women to choose between marriage and self, etc. But what enraged large masses of his subjects was the whole-sale destruction of places of worship, exaction of treacherous taxes like the *chaj* and extra-ordinary duties from Hindus, and their humiliation, not merely by dismissal from high service, but also by prohibition against riding on good horses, wearing of good dresses, etc. These were not the acts of a righteous ruler or a constructive statesman, but the outbursts of blind fanaticism, unworthy of the great genius that Aurangzeb undoubtedly possessed in all other respects. Nor does any religion demand from its most devoted votaries the savage treatment that Aurangzeb needlessly meted out to his father and brothers. The fact is that, apart from his natural propensity and zeal for religion (Islam?), Aurangzeb—or better *Alauddin*, the "world-grasper," also possessed a certain strong machivellian bias in his character which made him believe:

"How vain is virtue, which directs our ways  
Through certain danger to uncertain praise!  
Knaves, and airy names! the fortune flies,  
With the first wind, the plant and the vine....  
The world is made for the bold empire man,  
The stage of nothing, where all he runs  
Justice to seek does waste all effort:  
She treats her balance, and neglects her sword.  
Virtue is nice to take what's not her own;  
And while she long consults, the prize is gone!"

This is the key to his gauding character which led his European contemporaries to suspect him a dissembling conservative villain. Bernier, as we have already pointed out, speaks of him as "reserved, *timide*, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation." He further amplifies, "What at his father's Court, he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely endeavouring to pave the way to future elevation. Even when appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, he caused it to be believed that his feelings would be better gratified if permitted to turn fakir, that is to say, a beggar, a Darwish, or one who had renounced the world; that the wish nearest his heart was to pass the rest of his days in prayer or in offices of piety, and that he shrunk from the cares and responsibility of government. Still his life has been one of unrelenting intrigue and contrivance: conducted, however, with such admirable skill, that every person in the Court, excepting only his brother Dara, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character." *Tavernier*, *Steuart*, wrote, "*Aurangzeb especially shows great zeal for the Muslim sect, of which he is a faithful follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in external observance of the law, which has been the evil by means of which he has corrupted his usurpation of the Kingdom..... To show himself still more zealous for the law he became a Darwish or Fakir,.....and under this false name of pious made his way slowly to the Empire."*

At least two of his contemporaries warned Aurangzeb of the consequences of his purblind policy—their motives we need not discuss here: but, in the nature of things, they could expect no response. His rebellious son Akbar wrote the strongest indictment of Aurangzeb's rule ever penned by critic:

"Verily, the guide and teacher of this path [of rebellion against a reigning father] is Your Majesty: others are merely following your footsteps. How can the path which Your Majesty himself chose to follow be called 'the path of ill-luck'?

My father harvested away the garden of Eden  
for two grains of wheat;  
I shall be an unworthy son if I do not sell it  
for a grain of barley!  
Hail, sinner of the world, spiritual and temporal!

1. Bernier, *Panjab*, p. 16.

2. Tavernier, *Panjab*, I, p. 177.

Men share hardship and labour of themselves.....

[Then follows a vindication of the Rajputs.]

"Former emperors like Akbar had extracted tribute and tribute with this name and conquered the realm of Hindustan with their help.... Tell us the race who, when Your Majesty was ascending the throne at Delhi, and the Rajputs (there) did not number more than three hundred men, performed heroic deeds, whose narrative is wanted to the age; such heroism and valour (were there) as the commendation of the age have not heard of.... Mindings be on this race's fidelity to us, who, without hesitation in giving up their lives for their master's sons, have done such deeds of heroism that for three years the Empire of India, its mighty men, famous ministers and high gaudies, have been moving in distraction (against them), though this is only the beginning of the onslaught.

"And why should it not be so, seeing that in Your Majesty's reign the ministers have no power, the nobles enjoy no trust, the soldiers are wretchedly poor, the writers are without employments, the markets are wholly useless, and the peasantry are driven-cruiden? So, too, the kingdom of the Deccan which is a spacious country and a paradise on earth, has become desolate and ruined like a hill or desert; and the city of Dushimpur,<sup>2</sup> the rock of beauty on the cheek on earth,—has become dried and ploughed; the city of Ananghul, glorified by association with Your Majesty's name, is perturbed like quiddance at the shock and injury given by the enemy's arrows.

"On the Hindu side two calamities have descended. (First) the execution of the Arise in the town and (second) the oppression of the enemy in the country. When such sufferings have come down upon the heads of the people from all sides, why should they not fail to pay due or thank their ruler? Men of high education and great bread belonging to ancient families, have disappeared and the offices and departments of Your Majesty's government and the functions of Your counciling, as the affairs of the State, are in the hands of mechanics, low people and rascals,—like weavers, soap-venders and sellers. These men, carrying the broad cheeks of bread under their arms, and the mass of bread and triflery, (in all the country) in their hands, sell on their tongues certain truths and religious maxims. Your Majesty trusts these confidence, confidants and companions as if they were (John) and Michael, and places yourself helplessly under their control. And these men, showing what (in samples) but selling barley, by such pretence make grain appear as a hill and a hill as grain (to you).

In the reign of King Akbar's, the Holy Warrior,  
Soap-venders have become Sacerd and Qid!....  
Low people have gained so much power  
That cultured persons have to seek shelter at their doors!....  
God protect us from this calamitous age,  
In which the sun looks at the Arab stand!

The supreme catastrophe is [vainly] leaping on the wind,  
While justice has become [as rare] as the phoenix itself!

"The deeds and affairs of States have taken to the passion of conflict, and are buying peace with gold and selling them for shameful considerations. Every one who sets out destroys the self-cult. The day comes near when the palace of the State would be wrecked.

"When I beheld this to be the state of affairs [in the realm] and saw no possibility of Your Majesty's character being retained, kindly words urged me to cleanse the stains of Hindustan of the brambles and weeds [viz. oppression and lawless men], to promote rise of learning and culture, and to destroy the foundations of tyranny and weakness. . .

"Hitherto Your Majesty has spent all Your life in the quest of things of this world—which are even more false than dreams, and even less constant than shadows. Now is the proper time for You to lay in provision for the next life, in order to atone for Your former deeds, done out of greed for this transitory world against Your august father and noble brothers in the days of Your youth.

O! thou art past eighty years and art still asleep!  
Thou wilt not get more than three few days!"

The whole letter sounds insistent and, doubtless, is guilty of exaggerations, but in its main charge quite true and wonderfully prophetic. Similar in import and appeal, but certainly more dignified in its tone and sincere in its fervor, is Shihajī's letter to Aurangzeb, addressed to him after the Agra adventure.

"To the Emperor Akbar—

"[His low and constant well-wisher Shihajī, after rendering thanks for the grace of God and the favour of the Emperor which are dearer than the Sun, begs to inform Your Majesty that—....

"It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied your treasury, Your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of *shiraj* should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please Your Majesty! That architect of the fabric of empire [Jahāngīr] Akbar Firdausī, reigned with full power for 32 [human] years. He adopted the admirable policy of universal harmony (*rah-e-rah*) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dharmī followers, *shir-wahibpurs* (Peshawar), *malikis*, *marwathis* (Jawhar), *shahis* (Aharā) Brahmins and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all the people. So, he became famous under the title of *Jahān-Girā*, 'the World's spiritual Guide.'

"Next, the Emperor Shamsuddin Jahāngīr for 28 years spread his precious shade on the head of the world and its dwellers, gave his heart

1. *Shahaj, Shahrar in Mughal India*, pp. 300-301.

in his friends and his hand to his work, and gained his desire. The Emperor Shih Jishi, for 20 years past his blessed shade on the level of the pond had gathered the fruit of eternal life, which is only a synopsis for goodness and fair fame, as the result of his longer time on earth.

He who lives with a good name gains everlasting wealth,  
Because after his death, the record of his good deeds  
Keeps his name alive.

"Through the suddenness of this selfish disposition, whenever he (Jishi) bent the glance of his august wish, Victory and Success advanced to welcome him on the way. In his reign many kingdoms and darts were conquered (by him). The arms and power of these Emperors can be easily understood from the fact (though Fatsihah has failed and become distracted in the attempt to merely follow their political system). They, too, had the power of laying the *palais*; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men, high and low, created by God to be (bring) examples of the nature of diverse creeds and dispositions. Their kindness and benevolence nature on the page of time as their memorial, and as power and praise for these blessed years will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of man's intention. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's constant regard in the realm of peace and safety (under the rule), and their undertakings succeeded."

"But in Your Majesty's reign, many of the arts and professions have gone out of your protection, and the rain will soon do as too, because there will be no disheart on my part in raising and denouncing them. Your parents are disinterested; the yield of every village has declined, in the place of one *leth* (of Egypt) only one thousand, in the place of a thousand only ten are collected, and that too with difficulty. Then poverty and beggary have made their homes in the palace of the Emperor and the Palace, the condition of the Grandees and officers can be easily imagined. It is a reign in which the way it is a lament, the merchants complain, the Muslim cry, the Hindu are grieved, most men have lived at night and in the day inhale their own shade by slapping their (in anguish). How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the *leth* to this grievous state of things? The history will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that the Emperor of Hindustan, visiting the beggar's beds, takes *leth* from Hindustan and John comes, *pagh*, *amoghah*, *lethah*, *paggh*, *namah*, *namah*, and the families-children—that his colour is shown by attacks on the walls of beggars that he dashes down to the ground the name and honour of the Tharids!"

"May it please Your Majesty! If you believe in the true Divine Book and Word of God (in the Arabic), you will find there (that God is styled) *Shahid*, the Lord of all men, and not *Shahid*—*Shahid*, the Lord of the Mohammedans only. Verily, Islam and Hindism



Pharaoh's sons are strong in valor, mighty in their armed hand,  
 India shall not shake the empire when they gained Xava land,  
 Who shall then contest thy power from the sea to farthest sea,  
 Ruler of a world-wide empire, King of kings and nations here?  
 Kings and greenwoods, friends and kinemas, will surround thee in  
 a choir.

And a race of winged heroes guard their ancient hero-king,  
Darius-darius's lofty edicts will pervade his boundless realm,  
Kathars, work his righteous mandates and the things he will do yet  
If this concept be rejected and the best of our period,  
Here within these ancient chambers will remain the sound of  
evil.

Father of a righteous nation! Save the prisoners of the land,  
On the sword and (saw) nations divided. All men, thy raising  
land of peace.

Daughter, not the great nation, daughter not thy life and life,  
 Afraid not, keep thy shining witness, with the bloody sign of sin.  
 Let thy own and Father's children stand beside thy ancient throne,  
 Christ's name and Christ's cross, for the day we shall meet!

Always the world gripper's reply to all the claims of reason and righteousness was as blind and blunt as that of Shaka-sondra's sporting wren. He was learned, too, and could quote Sa'idi, erudite-like academies:—

<sup>10</sup> *Center for the Study of International Policy, Center for the Study of International Policy*.

Or guarantee that your decisions shall be governed only by conscience."

Asuragreb was thereby saving the dragon's teeth; but he never thought of the future. With Lochs XV he only exclaimed: "After me the Deluge!"—*"Nach mir die Flut!"*

Mr. Pringle Kennedy wisely observes, "What Akbar had gained, what ~~Jehangir~~ and Shah Jahan with all their vices had retained, he (Aurangzeb) lost, viz., the affection of his Hindu subjects. That this can be acquired for a Mohammedan ruler without doing injustice to his co-religionists has been shown over and over again in Indian History. And no power that has not acquired the confidence of the Hindu community can be expected to last in India. Intolerance in Aurangzeb's time meant intolerance in religious matters, but intolerance can, and at the present day often does, extend to matters not religious. Intolerance at opposition, a belief that no one can be right save oneself, a feeling of contempt for all that does not tally with one's own ideas, all these are a form of intolerance and one that at times can be seen in the statements of the present

days. But the weaving of history stands over these, so that he who runs may read: *The English were jealous by perceiving the methods of Akbar, he then set him to by imitating them.*<sup>1</sup>

#### WASTED OPPORTUNITY

It is vain to speculate what might have been if Aurangzeb had not been a fratricidal *Nasirud* (as his infatuated brother Durr called him), if he had befriended the Rajputs instead of alienating them, if he had not antagonised the Sikhs, Satalukis, Jits, and other sections of his non-Muslim subjects, and above all, if he had not roused the Marathas to deadly combat, and had won the sympathy and support of the Sikh Kingdoms of Guler, and Bilaspur, etc. etc. But when we remember Aurangzeb's unquestionable merits, his administrative abilities, his benevolent intentions regarding the welfare of the peasants and Muslim subjects, his tireless energy, and his sense of the responsibility of a monarch, we cannot help sighing with the regretful Emperor crying from his death-bed: "*I have not at all done my (true) government of the realm as cherishing of the peasantry. Life, as valuable, has gone away for nothing.... and of the future there is no hope.*"<sup>2</sup>

Our regret is rendered all the fiercer acute when we turn our eyes to the successful administration of parts of his vast dominion, like Bengal under Shajahan Khan and Korkan under Munibar Khan. The latter was a *Mansabdar* *Sardar* of Kalyan, first employed as a *Subahdar* in the Naulk District. He first distinguished himself in 1628, "by his enterprising spirit and fearlessness." He enlisted a strong infantry force of local hillmen to fight the Marathas. After the fall of Sambhal, it was on account of him that all North Korkan from Surat to Bombay passed into Mughal hands. "Most parts of the district had been ruined by twenty years of Maratha predations and frequent warfare. He established Mughal rule over them, restored order, and planted colonies of peasants so as to revive their cultivation and prosperity... The correspondence of Aurangzeb's Court contains many examples of Munibar's vigilance over his charge, his strict maintenance of efficiency in the administration, and his assistance to the *Sikhi* chief of Jajira in the military operations for upholding the imperial power. Death overtook this able and faithful servant at the end of February 1694."<sup>3</sup>

1. Kennedy, *The History of the Great Moghals*, II, pp. 129-30.

2. Letter to Aurangzeb, already cited.

3. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, vol. 32, 1932.





**Abstract**

THE EMPIRE UNDER SURVEILLANCE



Shajista Khan's administration of Bengal was equally successful and prosperous. His first viceroyalty of Bengal extended over 14 years (1684-77). "During this unusually long period of office in our province, he first secured the safety of the Bengal rivers and afterwards by destroying the pirates' nest at Chaugach, won over the Farangi pirates and settled them near Dacca. His internal administration was equally mild and beneficent. He immediately stopped the resumption by the State of the old rent-free lands which the local officers had begun during the inter-regnum following Jalla Jang's death. Every day he held open Court for administration of justice and redressed wrongs very generously. This he regarded as his most important duty. Shajista Khan restored absolute freedom of buying and selling, and also abolished two Bengal exactions of his predecessors, namely, a tax of one-fortieth (*chakri*) on the income of merchants and travellers, and an excise duty (*harid*) from every class of artificers and tradesmen, the latter tax yielding 15 lakhs of Rupees a year in his own reign alone. The long interval of peace wrought by his arms in Bengal was employed by him in adorning his capital Dacca with many fine buildings and constructing roads all over the country. On the whole, he was a generous collaborator of the grand old style."<sup>1</sup> His second term covered the nine years from 1688 to 1698; the most notable event of this period was the war with the E. I. Co., already described. The popular tradition is that, during his governorship, rice sold in Bengal at the incredibly cheap rate of eight annas to the Rupee.<sup>2</sup>

That the country possessed able rulers even among the enemies of the Mughal Empire is illustrated by the career of Ruzbi Bahadur, the rebel chief of Goudwana. "During Ruzbi Bahadur's reign the rich lands of the south of Dacca, between the Wainganga and Kam-lua rivers, were steadily developed. Hindu and Muhammadan cultivators were encouraged to settle in them on equal terms with Goonds, until this region became most prosperous." Industrial settlers from all quarters were attracted to Goudwana, many towns and villages were founded, and agriculture, manufactures, and even commerce made considerable advances.<sup>3</sup> But the best illustration of administrative talent outside the Empire is that of Sher-ali.

"It is commonly believed," writes Prof. S. N. Sen, "that this

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 425-26.  
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 425-26.

most empires (whose foundations were laid by Shivaji) existed merely by plunder and robbery. An ancient English writer has described the Maratha generals as 'robbers, plunderers and ransackers.' But it is very difficult to understand how an empire could last for over a century and half by robbery and plunder alone, unless it had a safer and firmer basis of good government.<sup>1</sup> This is not the place to describe in details the splendid government set up by Shivaji. We must content ourselves here with reminding the reader of the tribute paid to him by Sir Jadunath Sarkar the historian of Aurangzeb's reign :—"The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of scattered Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people. . . . No other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times. . . . He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth."<sup>2</sup>

Aurangzeb could easily have become an 'Ornament to his throne' (as indeed his name signified), had he not spent his dynamic energy and genius in channels destructive to both himself and the Empire that was his glorious heritage. Instead, he set himself the vain task of becoming *Aurang* or 'world-grasper' and was content to be *Shah* *Pir* or 'Iskari saint' to his orthodox Muslim contemporaries. He also set to posterity a puzzling puzzle in the strange compound of his character : "Aurangzeb's life had been a vast failure, indeed," as Lane-Poole observes, "but he had failed grandly . . . His glory is for himself alone. . . . To his great empire his devoted soul was an unbridled slave."<sup>3</sup>

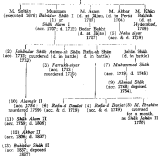
1. See, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, Pottani to the 1st ed., p. 8.

2. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

3. Lane-Poole, *Aurangzeb*, pp. 384-5. The same writer has also observed, "Aurangzeb has experienced the fate of his great contemporary, Cromwell, whom he resembled in many features of the soul. He has had his Lullies among his blasphemy, and his Baccas, with their theories of selfish ambition and virtue veiled by success; he has also been diverted with the paragonies of Muhammadan Piousness and Debauchery. These opposite vices, however, are less contradictory than might be supposed. They merely represent the difference between Christian hypocrisy and Muhammadan hypocrisy. . . . They did not understand the nature of the religion which should be honestly professed by such a man as Aurangzeb, any more than the members of the Rantonnian would discover in the missions outside the sincere Christian that Cromwell really was. . . . Like Cromwell, he (Aurangzeb) may not have been 'a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things, but he undoubtedly put himself forth for the name of God, like the great Protestants, a man instrument to do God's people some good, and God service.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 62-63, 64.

# GENEALOGY OF THE LATER MUGHALS

## ALAMGIR



1. *Farrāk-i-Ḥusn* by Khān Khān, already cited, continues the story up to the beginning of the 14th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign. In the reign of Farrāk-shāh, the author was made a *shikāh* by Nizām-i Mulk, and "writes with interest and favour in all that concerns that chief. For this reason he is sometimes design'd *Nizām-i Mulk*." Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 387-391.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Ḥusn* Khān by Mir Muḥammadshāh Inshā Khān Wāra, whose grand-father and father had held important offices under Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, respectively. Inshā Khān was a *ḥisābī* under Aurangzeb, and governor of the Deccan under Bahādur Shāh. He died in the reign of Farrāk-shāh. Downes observes, "This is a good history of the Mughal Empire from the close of Aurangzeb's reign to the commencement of Farrāk Shāh's. It has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott. . . . The book is written in a plain straight-forward style, and it never wanders beyond the sphere of the author's own observation; but it is full of spirit, and has all the vigour and vividness of a personal narrative." "As I was a scribe as well as a spectator of all the dangers and troubles," Inshā Khān himself writes, "I have therefore recorded them. My intention, however, not being to compile a history of the kings or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened in my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend writing to a friend would use, for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is essential, *loftiness of style is useless for plain truth which, pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation.*"—E. & D., op. cit., VII, 388-89.

3. *Ḥusn-Nāma* by Muhammad Khān, also called *Tārīkh-i-Dahshat-Nāma*, "is a well written history," commencing with the

\* The principal Authorities for the remaining chapters, excepting only the last, have all been given here together. The reader will bear in mind, with increasing anxiety, it is impossible to be exhaustive. Other sources may be traced in the works here cited.

death of Aurangzeb, and closing with the death of *Nasir-i Mulk Sayyid Abda-Shah*. Extracts relating to the great Sayyids of Burha, whose descendant the author was, are given in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 271-73.

4. *Tarikh-i Chahghatay* of Muhammad Haid Miransar Khān sometimes called *Tarikh-i Chahghatay*, is a general history of the Mughals, closing with the 7th year of Muhammad Shah, A.D. 1737 (1154 A.H.). The author held important offices under Bahādur Shah, and "was in a position to know what was going on; and the apparently straight-forward manner in which he has written his history inspires the confidence of the reader." Extract relating to the observation at the death of Bahādur Shah in E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 29-30.

5. *Tarikh-i Chahghatay* of Muhammad Shah, Tehrani, not to be confused with the above work of the same name, "is written in an elegant, but somewhat difficult style." It begins with Bābur and concludes with the withdrawal of Nadir Shah in 1729. The work closes with the following interesting observation:—

"After the departure of Nadir Shah, a Royal Order was issued to the following effect: 'All public officers should occupy themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, except the historians. These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a pleasant one. The reign of Imperial or Supreme Government here falls from my hands. I am near the History of Nadir Shah.' Notwithstanding that the nobles and great officers of the Court, hearing these melancholy reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommended him to withdraw this order. His Majesty would not be misled. Consequently, being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate, and laid down their pens.' Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

6. *Tarikh-i-Riyāz* of Fathwa Ali was composed in the year 1134, A.H. (1741-42 A.D.). It closes with the 24th year of Muhammad Shah's reign. "It may be considered altogether a useful compilation, writes Dowson, 'as it is not copied verbatim from known authors and in the latter part of it the author writes of many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends.' His object in composing the work is stated by the author to have been a desire to assist in writing a brief account of just kings, and how they controlled oppression and tyranny, in the hope that,

while it might prove a lesson to the wise, it would not fail to draw the attention of indolgent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures, and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world. Extracts, *Ibid.*, pp. 42-53.

7. *Jawān-i-Sawād* of Muḥammad Maṣṭūr Shāh-i, closing with the departure of Nadir Shāh, is useful for a description of the anarchy of the times, though "it is written in a very ambitious extravagant style with a great tendency to exaggeration." Extracts, *Ibid.*, pp. 75-5.

8. *Tadhkirat* of Aḥmad Rāy Māhildā is invaluable for its account of Nadir Shāh's invasion. "The author was an eye-witness of much that passed during Nadir Shāh's stay in India, and suffered from his exactions." Extracts, *Ibid.*, pp. 76-86.

9. *Fāṭih-i Aḥmad Shāh*, anonymous, "terminates abruptly about six months before the deposition of Aḥmad in 1754 a.d." Gives a good account of the anarchy of the time. Extracts, *Ibid.*, pp. 104-23.

10. *Bayān-i Wāḥ* of Khwāja 'Abd-i Kāsim Khān, "contains a very full account of the proceedings of Nadir Shāh in India, and of the reigns of Muḥammad Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh." Extracts, *Ibid.*, pp. 128-33.

11. *Fāṭih-i Aḥmad Shāh*, anonymous, "begins with the accession of the Emperor and terminates at his death, recounting all the events of the reign very fully, and in plain language." Extracts, *Ibid.*, pp. 140-42.

12. *Fāṭih-i Maṣṭūr-i Fataḥ* of Muḥammad Jāfir Shāh is the account of an eye-witness of the battle of Panipat and the events leading thereto. The author states that "during the prime of life" and "for the space of five-and-twenty years, he was constantly with Aḥmad Sulṭān Aḥmad, more commonly styled Durḡā, and having accompanied him several times to Hindustan, became well acquainted with the whole series of royal marches from the city of Kandahar to the metropolis of Shāh-Jahānābād. At the battle which was fought at Panipat with Wajidā Rāy and his deputy Dāūd, the author was himself present on the field, and witnessed the circumstances with his own eyes. Other particulars too, he learnt from persons of credit and sagacity, and having written them down without any alteration, designated the work by the title of *Maṣṭūr-i Fataḥ*, or *Victorious Marches*." Extracts, *Ibid.*, pp. 145-57.



13. *Faḥṣṭah Maḥīn* of Muḥammad Aḥmad was completed in the year 1184 A.H. (1770-1, A.D.). "This History is somewhat ambitious in style, but of no value for its contents." It deals with the Durrani invasion and of Alamgir II and Shah Alam II. Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 195-74.

14. *Spurs-i Māṭa-ahīrīn* ("Review of Modern Times") or *Ḥisār-i Adab-ahīrīn* ("Manners of the Modern") of Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān is a general history of India from 1750 to 1785 A.D. "It contains the reigns of the last seven Emperors of Hindustan, an account of the progress of the English in Bengal up to 1781, A.D., and a critical examination of their government and policy in Bengal. The author treats important subjects with a freedom and spirit, and with a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer, and which justly entitles him to pre-eminence among Muhammadan historians." (Dewar). The chapters in this book are from Col. Briggs' (Patiala office, Allahabad, 1864) translation, entitled *Ḥisār-i Maḥṭawīn*.

15. *Ḥisār-Nāmah* of Fakir Khān-i dīn Muḥammad (Alakabad). It is mainly the history of the reigns of Alamgir II and Shah Alam II. "The *Nāmah* is well written, in simple intelligible language, and deserves more notice than the limits of this work will allow." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 235-64.

16. *Faḥṣṭah-i Ḥisārīn Khān* of Aḥ Durrānī Khān was completed at Benares in 1201 A.H. (1786 A.D.). "This work is very valuable for the clear and correct account it gives of the Marathas." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 287-64.

17. *Tārīkh-i Muzaffar* of Muḥammad Ali Khān is, according to Dewar, "the most accurate of General Histories of India." The work was composed about 1800 A.D. This is the principal authority on which is based Kinnier's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 357-64.

18. *Naḥṣ-Nāmah* *Ḥisār* of Saḥīr-i Ghulām Ali covers the ground covered by *Tārīkh-i Ḥisārīn Khān* but in much greater detail. For the battle of Pliangut "the author informs us that his authority was a Brahmin of the Dutch, named Rāy Fāzīl Rāy, who was in the service of Nawāb Shāh-jān-i dār-i Gadh, and was present at the interview which the Mahrattas, under Bhāskār had with him." (Dewar). Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 398-405.

19. *Khāt-i Kh̄ṣ* *Ḥisār* account of the Pliangut events, as found in Col. James Browne's translation has been edited, with valuable

notes and appendices, by Principal H. G. Rowlinson (O. U. P., 1906). "The literature of this campaign is immense," writes Rowlinson, "and a study of it, even from Marathi documents, would alone occupy a large volume. The Persian sources have yet to be adequately catalogued and examined." In their absence Ikbalī Bāṭi "is the most detailed account we possess of the battle, and is the work of an eye-witness who evidently desires to give an impartial narrative of what he saw and heard. He had many friends in both armies and he was equally impressed by the gallantry of the Marathas and by the masterly strategy of their opponent, the Abhīlī command." (Introduction).

29. An equally valuable contemporary account in Persian has been recently translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the pages of the *Indian Culture* (Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 431-56, July 1935, Hyderabad Deccan). It is entitled, "An Original Account of Ahmad Shah Durrānī's Campaign in India and the Battle of Panipat"—from the *Persian Life of Najib-ud-Daulah*, (R. Museum Papyrus MS. 24, 418).

30. James Fraser's *History of Mughal India*, published in 1742. (Rajarat, Printed Office, Alahabad).

B. Secondary:—1. *The Fall of the Mughal Empire of Hindustan* by H. G. Keene, New Ed. London, 1887 (Allen).

2. *The Turks in India (1519-1761)* by the same writer, London, 1879 (Allen).

3. *The Fall of the Mughal Empire* by Sidney J. Owen, London, 1912 (Murray).

4. *History of India* by Elphinstone, Ed. XII, pp. 675-189.

5. *Later Mughals* by William Irvine, edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar—Vol. I, 1700-1750; Vol. II, 1751-1759. (Calcutta, Sarkar & Son).

6. *Fall of the Mughal Empire* by Sir J. N. Sarkar, Vol. I, 1750-1754. (Calcutta, 1900 Sarkar & Son); Vol. II, 1916.

7. *The Janiss and the Great Mogul* by Sir Edward Macleagan, Ch. VII, pp. 121-43; Ch. XII, pp. 181-87.

8. 'Dona Juliana Dias De Castro—Her Influence in Later Mughal History' by Rev. Hearn, S. J., Banden, 1829.

9. *Rise of the Pathans* by H. M. Saita. Alahabad, 1933 (The Indian Press).

10. *Life and Times of Sikandri* by M. W. and R. G. Burney. Bombay, 1902.

11. *A History of the Maratha People* by Kinsard and Parnell, Vol. II, O. U. P. 1933.
12. *The Main Currents of Maratha History* by G. S. Sardesai, (Calcutta, 1928, Sarkar & Sons).
13. *The Battle of Pilsnet—Its Causes and Consequences*, by the same writer,—*The Modern Review* for Sept. 1903, pp. 359-74.
14. *The History of the Great Moghals* by Pringle Kennedy Vol. II, Calcutta 1811 (Thaddeus Spink & Co.).
15. *A History of the Mogal Rule in India, (1526-1761)* by K. H. Karver and R. M. Shah, Banoda 1938. (pp. 343-395)
16. *A History of the Sikhs* by J. D. Cunningham, Calcutta, 1891. (pp. 96-187).
17. "Medicine at the Moghal Court," D. V. S. Sastri in J. I. H. XVII, pt. 2, and XIX, pt. 1. (April 1946)
18. "The Economic History of India—1600 to 1800," Radha Kama Mukerji, in J. U. P. H. S., XVI, I, July 1943.
19. "Ownership of Agricultural Land during the Mughal Rule in India," I. H. Quaresa, J. I. H., XXI, 3, Dec. 1942, pp. 225-36.
20. "Life and Art in the Mughal Period," H. Gotha, J. U. B., V, 4, Jan. 1937.
21. "Cow Protection in Mughal India," Arjun Mook, J. I. H., XXI, 3, Dec. 1942, pp. 226-30.
22. *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* by H. H. Hasan, O. U. P. 1938. Death up to 1607.
23. *The Provincial Government of the Moghals (1606-1658)* by P. Surin, Kishinot, Aligarh, 1941.
24. "Mughal Relations with Persia"—from Babur to Aurangzeb. Series in Islamic Culture (Hyderabad, Dec.) 1934-38.

## CHAPTER X

### SUNSET OF THE EMPIRE

"For generosity, magnificence, boundless good nature, extensiveness of India, and largeness of affairs, very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahadur Shah in the histories of past times, and especially in the case of Tipu. But though he had so vice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the State and in the government and management of the country, that many sensible people found the fate of his successor in the words, *Siddi-i de-Khân*, "*Weakness King*," *Kutl-i Khân*."

The afternoon blaze of Aurangzeb's power had melted into a softer glow in the declining years of the aged Emperor. The tedious war in the Deccan had "exhausted his armies and destroyed his prestige, and no sooner was the dominating mind stifled in death than all the forces that he had sternly controlled, all the warring elements that struggled for emancipation from the grinding yoke, broke out in irrepressible tumult. Even before the end of his reign Hindustan was in confusion, and the signs of coming dissolution had appeared. As some imperial corpse, preserved for ages in its dazed exclusion, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls into dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the empire of the Moghul when the great name that guarded it was no more. It was as though some splendid palace, raised with infinite skill with all the conflict stones and precious details of the earth, had attained its perfect beauty only to collapse in undistinguishable ruin when the invisible roots of the creper tapped the foundations." So writes Lane-Poole. He further adds, "Even had Aurangzeb left a successor of his own mental and moral stature, it may be doubted whether the process of disintegration could have been stayed. The disease was too far advanced for even the heroic surgery."

Things were not so hopeless at least during the five years of Bahadur Shah's rule (1707-1712). We might agree with Keene who states, "As there was a period of consolidation between the first adventures (of Dilaur) and the mature glory (of Shâh Jahan), so there was a period of weakness and a lapse between the glory and

the fall. . . . Naturally, the steps from one period to another were not sharply defined to the bystanders, and even now, in looking back upon them, one observes gradations like those by which one colour passes into the next upon a rainbow. The reign of Aurangzeb might appear to have been a time of recovery if it had not been a time of falling; and the accounts of his death that have been preserved do not show any feelings of despondency as to the future of his empire in the mind of the dying despot. Nor was the character or the position of his successor by any means such as to give rise to any immediate alarm among those well-wishers of the State who survived their sovereign. The Emperor still gave audience, and redressed grievances, seated on the peacock throne; and the rulers of all provinces of the peninsula were still either his vassals or his officials.<sup>1</sup>

"But" as the same writer well observes, "the air was full of change."<sup>2</sup> It would not, therefore, be improper to call this reign the sunset of the Empire: the sun of Imperial glory was still to sink below the horizon; if the rays of its power were not piercing and sharp as in the days of Aurangzeb, they had a gentler charm of their own. Though this utmost of passing grandeur was short like a real sunset, few that enjoyed its nothing light thought of the darkness that was to follow.

"The new emperor, in spite of his advancing years," says Krome, "displayed a magnificence which caused his court to rival the memory of Shahjahan's."<sup>3</sup> In the words of Iradat Khân:

"They received a new laurel from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal to, if not above, their merits; so that the public forgot the weaknesses and great qualities of Aurangzeb, which became absorbed in the beauty of his successor. . . . His court was magnificence to a degree beyond that of Shah Jahan. Seventeen Princes, his sons, grandsons and nephews, sat generally round his throne. . . . Behind the royal Princess, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Shikandar Ali Sháh of Bijapur and Kish Sháh, King of Golkonda; also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of amir to those thousand, such as, were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails. . . . On the 16<sup>th</sup> and other festivals, His Majesty, with his own hands, gave the hand and perfume to all in his presence, according to their rank. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours were truly royal. . . . In the early part of the evening he had generally an assembly of the religious

1. Krome, *The Turks in India*, pp. 178-79.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, 178.

or learned men....He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account some eccentric devotes around him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through some error of his superior abilities. I heard none of his sermons, and lamented the ignorance of his vain critics: for it was as clear as the sun here (and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points). The writer concludes: 'But how can I enumerate all his perfections. It would fill volumes to recite but a small part, therefore I will close.'<sup>1</sup>

Ted, the historian of Bikaner, is equally enthusiastic, saying that the Emperor Bahadur Shah had many qualities that endeared him to the Rajputs. He was also of opinion that "had he immediately succeeded the benighted Shahjahan, the House of Tahir, in all human probability, would have been still enthroned at Delhi." The legacy of Aurangzeb spoils the opportunities of this Emperor, who like Shah Jahan was "almost a pure Hindu." Karna adds, "Had Aurangzeb succeeded Akbar he would have done less mischief; had Bahadur Shah succeeded Shahjahan he would have postponed the catastrophe. As things happened (however) the evil-doers of the one was as fatal as the folly of the other; and the qualities of each combined in unhappy co-operation, the two emperors ruled chaotic union under a deadly poison."<sup>2</sup>

We might divide the present chapter under the following heads:—I. Personal History of Bahadur Shah; II. Relations with the Rajputs; III. Relations with the Marathas; IV. Relations with the Sikhs; and V. Conclusion.

### I. PERSONAL HISTORY

Mohammed Mirzaam, the second son of Aurangzeb, was styled Shah Alam in his father's lifetime. He was born at Burhanpur on 30th Rajab 1065 A.D. (14th Oct. 1641). His mother was Nurjeh Beg, daughter of Najib Khan of Rajput in Kashmir. His eldest brother, by the same mother, Prince Mohammed Siddik, having died (14th Dec. 1670) at the age of thirty-nine, Prince Mirzaam (Shah Alam) was recognised heir-apparent. For twelve years (from 1667 A.D. Shah Alam was Subedar of the Deccan. About the end of 1677 he was sent to Rajputana, against his rebellious brother Akbar (4th son of Aurangzeb—21st Sept. 1657). In 1683-4 he led his Kashmir expedition, with doubtful results, and was thence directed against Sir Bijay

1. *Farishta* under Shah, II. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 351-52.

2. *Karna*, op. cit., pp. 174-6 and 187.

and then Gollconda. On 4th March 1607 he was arrested with all his family for suspected conspiracy with Abul Hasan, ruler of Gollconda, and kept in close confinement for seven years. He was released on 24th May 1616 and sent as Governor to Ahmadnagar. Therein he was transferred to Kaled which he reached on 4th June 1620. "For eight years the hot season was spent in Kaled and the cold weather at Jalabad or Peshawar or in marches through the country." He got the news of Aurangzeb's death, in his camp at Jaunpur, on 22nd March 1707, only 20 days after the event.<sup>1</sup>

Then followed the race for the throne: M. Azam, the third

son of Aurangzeb (by Dilras Banu, daughter

War of Succession of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi—born 9th July 1655) and Shah Azam being nearly equidistant

from Agra. The former was at Ahmadnagar (200 miles from Agra), and the latter at Jaunpur (215 miles from Agra).<sup>2</sup> The contest is well depicted in the pages of contemporary chroniclers. According to Khafi Khan, who was then *Amir-ul-Umra* of the *darbar* of Thibetwar and Kheda, "On the 19th *Jad Mulla* (14th March 1707) Azam Shah, having ascended the throne, made his accession public in the *Dakhin* by coins struck in the name of Azam Shah (the title he assumed was *Abul-Fayz Ghafar ad-din, Mahmud Azam Shah*,

1. "An instance of the speed with which intelligence could be carried the distance from Ahmadnagar to Jaunpur being about 1,400 miles, and the average distance travelled by the messenger being thus 70 miles a day"—*Dring, The Later Mughals*, I, p. 26.

2. Aurangzeb, on his death-bed, had foreseen the impending struggle and tried to avert it: (1) by his last will and testament, already cited, declaring a definite division of the Empire between his three surviving sons; and (2) by trying to keep his three sons at a safe distance, both from himself and from one another, at the time of his death. Moreover the eldest was in distant Kabul. The other two, Khan Durrani and Azam, both being near him, he had ordered to go to Ajmer and Mathura respectively, with strict and positive instructions as to the time and route to be followed by each. The *Shah-nama* describes the subject of such precise instructions was to place the young (Khan Durrani) out of the power of his elder brother M. Azam. Seven days after having taken that precaution, he ordered his second son to proceed to his provincial of Mathura that he was after supper, with intention to make short stages of about 5 *kos* daily, and to halt two days at each stage, so as to march only every third day. In giving such orders, the emperor told him that it was to put it in his power to prevent any disorders that might happen in that country in case of a vacancy of the throne, and moreover that he might be at hand to avail himself of his father's dominion, and take possession of his inheritance. But the emperor's real object was to keep at enmity a prince at a distance from him at that time, and to prevent his making himself of his little state of Ajmer to seize and control him, in the same way as Aurangzeb had ordered his son Jafar Shikhan—*Hydrabad Musawwir*, pp. 1-2 (Urdu).

Gädi? Having gratified the old nobles of the State with robes and jewels, augmentations of mansab and promises, he set off, about the middle of *Ẓil-Ḥijā*, to encounter Shāh Alam accompanied by *Jawānahād Muḥib Amīn-ā* amirā Asad Khān (his son) *Zai-ī Ḥijr Khān Bahādar Nūr-ī-jang* and [many other Persian nobles.] He marched to *Kāshgāh-karīd* (Aurangabad).... and there arrived at *Beshāghar*. After leaving that place, he was abandoned by *Mahmūd Arīs Khān*, and *Chīs Kalich Khān* (leader of the Turānī party), who had received the title of *Kāsh-darān*. They were offended by the treatment they received from Asad Shāh, and went off to Aurangabad, where they took possession of several districts.<sup>1</sup> Asad had also ordered his son *Bekir Shāh* from *Ab-nadshah* to join him. The latter on hearing of the death of his grandfather is reported to have exclaimed: "You know full well that the realm of Hindustan will now fall into anarchy. Peas do not know the value of the Emperor. I only hope that Heaven will direct matters as I wish, and that the Empire will be given to my father."

In the meanwhile, 'On the 7th *Zai-ī Ḥijr* the news of Aurangzād's death reached *Peshawar*, and the Prince (Shāh Alam) immediately prepared to set out. Next day a letter came from *Munim Khān*, offering congratulations upon the Prince's accession to sovereignty (presumed), and urging him to come quickly. Orders were given for the march, and next day the Prince started, making no delay, accompanied by his nobles, except *Fathallāh Khān*, a man of great bravery lately appointed to *Kabul*, who declined to accompany him. Orders were given that *Jān-nāir Khān*, who was only second in courage to *Fathallāh Khān*, should go with 5,000 or 6,000 horse to the neighbourhood of *Agra* to join Prince *Asim-shāh* (Shāh Alam's son, who had come from *Siber* to support his father). Orders also were sent calling Prince *Mahmūd-shāh* from *Thatta*, and *Asmād-shāh* from *Multan*, where he was acting as the deputy of his father. Other presumed adherents were also sent for.

'Shāh Alam proceeded by regular marches to *Lahore*. *Munim Khān* came forth to meet him, paid his homage, offered 40 *lacs*

1. The note struck by him bore the inscription—  
*Shāh-nāir dār-ī ḥijr* to *ẓulfi* + *jah*,  
*Fathallāh-karīd* Asad Shāh.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cala was struck in the world with fortune and dignity by the Emperor of the Kingdom, Asad Shāh.'—*Ibtisā*, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 84; *op. cit.* VII, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* op. cit.



of copper, and presented the soldiers, artillery and equipments that he had hoarded himself in collecting directly he had heard of the death of Auzungob.<sup>1</sup>

Shih Alim appointed him wazir. At the end of Muharram, 1113 (April, 1707)<sup>2</sup> the Prince occupied at Lahore. There he remained over the new moon of Salar, and gave orders for the coining of money<sup>3</sup> and reading the *Khurba* in his name. The nobles in his

1. Both KHAN KHAN and Imdad KHAN speak highly of Miran KHAN's loyalty and ability. 'The late Emperor,' says the former, had appointed Miran KHAN, a very able man of business, to the management of Kabul. We had shown great devotion and fidelity to Shah Alim, so that the Prince placed in his hands the management of his affairs in the province of Lahore, and had recommended him for the duties of the province to the Emperor, who appointed him to that office. When Miran KHAN received intelligence of the continued illness of the Emperor, he brought tribute to Shah Alim, he busied himself in making preparations in the country lying between Lahore and Peshawar, finding means of transport, collecting animals and bullocks, and providing things necessary for carrying on a campaign, so as to be ready at the time of need.—*Ibid.*, pp. 281-82. Imdad KHAN, likewise, speaks of Miran's 'great abilities, active in the public, sensible in execution and understanding of integrity of mind....when he heard of Auzungob's illness, in order to prevent plots in favour of Asam SHAH, he drafted a report that Shah Alim would not consent for support, but seek protection from his brother by flight to Persia. This step appears to have been suggested to him by Shah Alim himself: "In this manner," Shah Alim is alleged to have told him, "you conceived a great design, by means of which I have spread it abroad and taken pains to make it believed. First, become my father, on a more expedient of disloyalty, but no time pass in this sentiment; and should he ever now think that I conceived the restless ambition, he would immediately strive to smothering my aim. Secondly, my brother and M. Asam SHAH, who is my powerful enemy and villain even to the point of madness, would watch all his force against me. From this report my father is now, and my brother lulled into self-security; but by the Almighty God who gave me life (laying his hand on the Koran), and on his holy book I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet Asam SHAH in single combat, otherwise to my loss. This secret, which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be careful that no leakage of your combat may betray it!"' When the news of Auzungob's death reached Miran KHAN at Lahore, he wrote immediately by express to Shah Alim, enjoining him to march with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or procrastination, and he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Lahore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that on a day's delay was considered in coming to the Prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies.—*Ibid.*, pp. 347-48.

2. Irvine gives the date as 1st Salar (3rd May, 1707), Irvine, op. cit., p. 25.

3. Directions were given that the new copper should be increased half a masha in weight, and two were accordingly coined of that weight, but as in the payment of taxibank, and in demand of commercial transactions, it was received at only the old rate, the new law was discontinued. K. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 581.

retinue presented their offerings and paid their homage....

'On Shāh Jahan arriving at Delhi... the commandant sent the keys of the fortress with his offering, and many others made their allegiance. At the beginning of Rabi'ul awwal (29th May, 1707) he left for Agra, and reached the suburbs of that city about the middle of the month (12th June, 1707), where he was met by his son M. Arin, and by M. Karim, the son of Prince Arin. Shāh Khān gave up the keys of the fortress, with treasure, for which he received great favour and rewards.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to one account there were also five or six lakhs of rupees, in rupees and mohalla, besides much of gold and silver, which was what was left remaining of the 24 lakhs of rupees assessed by Shāh Jahan after what had been expended by Aurangzeb during his reign, principally in his wars in the Deccan. According to another account, including the government money, which consisted of mohalla and rupees of 100 to 500 tola weight, especially coined for presents,<sup>2</sup> and the mohalla of 12 lakhs and 12 mohalla of the reign of Akbar, the whole amounted to 12 lakhs. An order was given for immediately bringing out 4 lakhs of rupees. Three lakhs were to be given to each of the royal Princes, altogether 9 lakhs; 2 lakhs to Khān Durrān and his sons; one lakh to the Sayyids of Dehli; one lakh to Afghan Khān and his Moghals. In the same way the officers in his retinue, and the old servants, soldiers, and others, received gratification according to pay and deserts. Altogether two lakhs were distributed....

'After Shāh (by this time had) passed the Nerbadda, and arrived at Gualior.... Shāh Arin... wrote him a letter of expostulation, rehearsing the particulars of the will written by their father with his own hand respecting the division of the Kingdom, and said, "Of all the six sarkes of the Deccan, I will surrender to you four sarkes, as well as the sark of Ahmedabad, and besides these I will present you with one or two other sarkes, for I do not wish that the blood of Mussulmans should be shed.... You ought therefore to be content with the will of your father, accept what is offered, and endeavour to prevent strife." It is also said that he sent a message to the following effect: "If you will not desist from unjustly making a greater demand, and will not abide by the will of our father, but desire that the sword should be drawn, and that the matter

1. An Irānī Bahāi Khān who was the commandant of the fort of Agra, had refused to surrender his charge, pleading that "although the fort and the treasure belonged to both the heirs to the crown, he would surrender them to whichever arrived first." *Ibid.*, see also *Asiatic Miscellany*, p. 5. (Edg.)

2. See Thomas, *Chronicle of the Fortified Kings*, p. 425.

should be submitted to the achievement of courage and valor, what is the necessity that we should down a multitude to the edge of the sword in our quarrel? It is better that you and I should stake our individual lives and contend with each other on the field of combat.".....When this letter and message of the elder brother reached the younger, the latter said, "I suppose the stupid fellow has never read the laws of Ch'li which say that "Two kings cannot be captured in one country, though ten thousand men sleep under one blanket.""

"Kingship having been decreed to Shih Allen," writes Irkut Khin, "from the aspect of destiny, each really took possession of the mind of Anan Shih, that he was convinced by his brother, though supported by the millions of Tur and Salan, dared not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he would slay in holes and caverns, so that no one dared to speak the truth; or was formerly the case with the Emperor Mungshin during the rebellion of the Afghan Sher Shah. Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence, so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival."

"The spies of Shih Allen Bahadur Shah," writes Khin Khin, "brought intelligence that the advanced guard of Anan Shih had marched with the intention of taking possession of the river Chien-

1. K. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 286-87. A slightly different version is given by Irkut Khin:—"At length Shih Allen, having reached Miank, sent by a messenger the following message to Anan Shih: "By the divine command we fight from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor contend in shed blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the empire between us. Though I am the elder son, I will leave the empire in your hands." Anan Shih, suspicious and haughty, replied that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the field, and upon this the messenger departed."—K. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 542.

How could two empires be kept in one kingdom?

As four-fifths of the world have been united,

As four-fifths to be united at one time.

"My share is this door to the east of the house, yours from the west gate the basement!"—Chin Irkut, op. cit., p. 22.

2. Daryodshan's reply in the *Mahabharata*—

"Take my message to my kinsmen, let Daryodshan's words be plain.

Portion of the Kuru empire east of Punjab seek in vain.

Soon our collapse, meet our hand, help us righteous path in heaven.

Spot that wealth's spot can cover shall not save them be given!"

3. K. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 541-42.

18th June, 1910.—Irkut, op. cit., p. 25.

bat, which is eighteen kos from Agra. So he gave directions that Khwāsūd Khān, Saif-dhān Khān the commander of the artillery, with an advance guard, should go to the possession of the passage, and not allow the enemy to cross. It was next reported to be Anam Shāh's intention to cross the river of Saman-garh, and leaving Agra in his rear, to turn and give battle. Orders were then given for moving Shāh Alam's tents to Jajū-Sarai. . . . Anam Shāh also prepared for battle, without heeding the superior force of his brother, or setting any plan of action, went boldly forward like a lion upon a flock of sheep. . . .

'On the fifth Rabi-ul awwal, 1018 A.H. (30th June 1557 A.D.), the two armies joined battle at Jajū (Jajam) seven or eight kos from Agra. . . . Miran now looked off in every way for Anam Shāh. . . and a great number on the side of Anam Shāh were slain. Zai-dhār Khān received a slight wound upon the lip. When he saw that the day was lost, that many of his valiant companions in arms were slain, and that Anam Shāh's army was pressed so hard that there was no hope of deliverance, he turned to the Prince and said, "Your ancestors have hitherto effected the same kind of reverses, and have been deprived of their splendour; but they did not refuse to do what the necessities of the case required." The best course for you now is to leave the field of battle, and to remove to a distance, when fortune may perhaps assist you, and you may retrieve your reverse." Anam Shāh flew into a rage, and said, "Go with your bravery, and save your life whenever you can: it is impossible for me to leave this field: for Prince's there is (only the choice of) a throne or a blur (fāidi yā taklīf)." Zai-dhār Khān, accompanied by Hamid-din Khān, then went off to Swāte. The ill-fated Prince now found himself left with only two or three hundred horsemen among thousands of his enemies, and amid a rain of arrows and balls. In this extremity he exclaimed, "It is not Shāh Alam who fights against me; God has abandoned me, and fortune has turned against me."

From this we might hurry on to the close of the battle as described by Isma'il Khān who was present on the scene:—

'As (Zai-dhār Khān) fled, distressed the rear of our army. The principal followers and personal attendants of Anam Shāh now dismounted, and lay their quivers on the ground, and drew to assist the charge of the enemies and sell their lives in defence of their prince.

Sayid Abdallah and his brother, Hussain Ali Khán, of the illustrious house of Shuká, were celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed most gallant actions, if possible superior to their own, accompanied them into this campaign, and prepared to engage on foot. The latter were rapid hand to hand with swords, and there was great slaughter on both sides. Hussain Ali Khán received several wounds and fell days later with the loss of blood. . . . At last a musket-ball and several arrows struck the Prince Sedar Khán, and he sank down dead by the elephant.

Asam Shah, though much wounded, was still alive, when a chief of that tribe visited him from the army of Sháh Álam. From this man I learned with a secret hand the Prince Ashraf Sháh, Muzáfir Sháh, Jahádar Sháh, and Isákh Sháh. Asam Sháh soon received a mortal wound from a musketball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The Prince Wághá (Asam's second son) also sank down in the shop of death. I (Husán Khán) now made my escape to Agra, not desiring to go to the enemy's camp, where I had many friends who would have given me protection.

Hussain Ali Khán, who commanded the rear of Sháh Álam's advanced corps, when attacked in the morning by our troops, . . . cutting off the head of the corpse [of Asam Sháh] . . . hastened to the camp of Sháh Álam. With swelling hopes of great reward, he laid his prize at the Prince's feet; for his companions Sháh Álam, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such a manner, shed tears of affection, and gave Hussain Ali Khán nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the march of victory to be broken. Hussain Khán took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate Princes, and treated the ladies of their harem with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to retain order and prevent plunder. . . . Without doubt Sháh Álam's courage, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister."

Next day Sháh Álam went to visit Khán-Áhmad (Abdullah Khan), and raised him to highest rank, with the title of Khán-Áhmad Bahádar Zafar Jung and Yárá-wafákhá (faithful friend). He presented him with a horde of rapiers in cash and goods, a larger beauty

1. Ibid., pp. 146-47, 148. "It may be fairly said, in summing up this part of our story," observes Irvine, "that Asam Sháh brought on his own defeat by his inexperience and unsteady behaviour. Having failed to reach Agra in time to secure that city before his rival, his chance of success was ruined. Unfortunately, he had little or no money, in comparison, at least, with the large resources thrown up by Bahádar Sháh; he had left much of his baggage behind him in the Dakhn; and his army was largely composed of footy and untrained troops; while many of his chief men, such as Bahádar Khán and Khán Jai Singh Kachhawá, seem to have been only half-hearted in their support of his cause." — Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-5.

Qasr had ever been bestowed on any individual since the day of the House of Thakur. His *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse, five thousand being *de-ustak* and six-eight. He also received two *Asars* of *Alam* as *Imam*, and he was confirmed in the office of *waris*.<sup>1</sup> Of the ten *Asars* of *Asar* which he officed as *peishwah*, one was accepted. . . . . Each of the four royal Princes had his *mansab* increased to 30,000 and 20,000 horse. . . . . A gracious *farman*, naming *Amir-i Asar* *Amir-i Khân*, *Zai-i Khân*, *Hamid-i Khân*, who had repaired to *Gwalior* before the battle, was sent, providing them safety and favour and asking them to bring with them the ladies of the late Prince with their establishments. *Amir-i Asar* accompanied the retinue of *Nasir-i Khân* *Zai-i Khân* (sister of *Amir-i Khân*), who was clothed in mourning garments. When they arrived, the Begum did not go through the form of offering congratulations, in consequence of her being in mourning, and this vexed the King. But he treated her with great kindness and indulgence, doubted her sexual allusions, and gave her the title of *Farz-i Begum*. All the other ladies of *Amir-i Khân* were treated with great sympathy and liberality, and were ordered to accompany *Farz-i Begum* to the capital.

To *Amir-i Khân* was given the title *Mahmud-i Khân* *Amir-i Asar*. He was also made *Farz-i Asar*, as the office was called in former reigns, and the appointment and removal of *waris* and other officials used to be in this grandee's hands. He was also presented with four stallions, five horses with accoutrements, etc., etc., and was allowed the privilege of having his dress beaten in the royal presence. . . . . *Zai-i Khân* *Amir-i Khân*'s *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse. He received the title of *Hamid-i Asar* *Amir-i Asar* *Hamid-i Asar*, and was reinstated in his office of *Mir-i Asar*. . . . In short, all the adherents, great and small, of the King and Princes, received *Asar* of *Asar*, four-fold and six-fold augmentations of their *mansabs*, and presents of jewels and elephants.

<sup>1</sup> Although the office of *waris* had been given to *Khân-i Khân* (*Mir-i Khân*), it was deemed expedient, in order to honour *Amir*

1. 'Some persons might privately observed that the *Amir-i Asar* had been the close friend and trusted adviser of *Amir-i Khân*; but the Begum asserted that if his own son had been in the *Dehli*, the commander of the position would have compelled them to join their ranks.'—ibid., p. 202.

Khalīl Amīn-i amara and Za-l Khir Khān, to elevate Asaf Khān to the position of wazir. To outward appearance he was raised to this dignity; but whenever any ministerial business of importance arose, Khān-i-Khānān did not communicate it to Asaf-i Jahān, ...

With the exception that the seal of Asaf-i Jahān was placed upon revenue and civil decrees and amāls, he had no part in the administration of government. ... Khān-i-Khānān discharged his duties as wazir with equity, integrity and impartiality and he exerted himself so earnestly in the performance of his work, that when he took his rest, he appointed officers to see that no petitions or letters of the day before remained unattended. One of the most acceptable and beneficial of the measures of Khān-i-Khānān was the relief he afforded in that oppressive grievance, the feud of the cattle of the nobles.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orders were given that in the coins of copper and silver no name should be used, but that the name,

As inscription. "Sah Alam Bahadur Sah" was the name of (said) they should be impressed in prose. It was also ordered that in the khata, the name "Sah Alam" should be substituted by the title "Sajid." It appears from history that from the rise of the House of Timur—say, even from the foundation of the Ghaz dynasty—no one of the monarchs had ever used the title of Sajid in the khata, or in his pedigree, with the exception of Khān Khānā.<sup>2</sup>

Prince Khān Bahadur, the youngest and favourite son of Aurangzeb (by Dilras Banu Begum)—born at Delhi, 28th February 1667

1. "On the day that Asaf-i Jahān acted as wazir, it became known that upon Khān-i-Khānān to rest upon him no other ministry did, and to obtain his signature to documents; but this was disagreeable to him."—*Ibid.*

2. "To explain this matter briefly, it may be said that in the late reign the nobles and other suspicious persons had so contrived that the responsibility of preventing feud for the cattle had been fixed on the monarchs. ... Although a high might be, from justice, and its total removal would not suffice for a half or a third of the expense of the empire, and leave a high to supply the necessities of life to the holder's wife and family, the officers imprisoned his cattle, and with violence and much demanded contributions for the feed of the cattle."—*Ibid.*, p. 261.

3. According to Khams, Bahadur Sah assumed this title in right of his mother Nurjān Bāi. "This lady was the descendant of a hermit named Sajid Mir Sah, who disappeared after marrying a daughter of the Raja of Ceylon. This Raja adopted the children and brought them up as Hindus. Hence the lady who, by a singular accident, became the wife of Aurangzeb in his youth, was in one respect of Sajid origin, though in another she might be looked upon as Hindu. Her title, after her marriage was Nurjān Bāi, a name, perhaps, of her Hindu nationality."—*Khams, The Tawarikh in India*, p. 259 n.

—also followed in the footsteps of his elder brother Muhammad Aram, and got himself involved in the wake of his father's death. According to Iradat Khān, 'Kīm Baksh was a prince of an excellent memory; was learned and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree; but there was in his mind a disposition that approached to insanity. He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but for some misbehaviour he was reprimanded, degraded or confined; some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. What folly was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind and the confidence he put in lying visionaries!... His father, having told him that his eldest son would also at some time become Emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated putting him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aurangzeb; however, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncounted punishments, on the ladies of his harem, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eyes never saw nor ear heard....'

The story of his rebellion may be briefly told in the words of

Rebellion of Kīm Baksh.	at Kāñī Khān.—	When the news of Aurangzeb's death reached him, Kīm Baksh was engaged in the capture of Bijapur from its commander Niyaz Khān. Negotiations were opened, and through the meritorious and skilful management of Ashraf Khān, the keys of the fortress were given up by Niyaz Khān, who swore on the Prince and made submission. At the end of two minutes the city and provinces were brought into a state of order. Ashraf Khān was made Bakshī, and the portfolio of wealth was given to Hāshim Makhani, with the title of Tahazib Khān. Other adherents were rewarded with jewels and dyes. The Prince then assumed the throne. He was mentioned in the <i>Shāh-nāma</i> under the title of <i>Dar-paishā</i> (Asylum of Faith), and often also was named with this title.... <sup>1</sup>
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1. *N. S. D. D.*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 303.

2. *See* *Journal* *Exposition* *des* *Excellence* *O* *Mah* : *Particul* *Kim* *Baksh* *et* *Chand*.

...<sup>2</sup> In the *Shāh-nāma* coin on coin (=gold) and silver (=silver) the *Emperor* *Kīm* *Baksh*, *Protector* *of* *the* *Faith*.—*Irfan*, op. cit., p. 32; see also, p. 11.



"A kind and advisory letter was addressed by the Emperor (Shah Alam) to his brother Miranmurad Khan Baluch in the following effect:—  
 "Our father entrusted you with the government of the robe of Bujagar; we now entrust to you the government of the two robes of Bujagar and Maidanabad, and all their subjects and belongings, upon the condition, according to the old rule of the Dakhil, that the robe shall be stout and the Bujagar robe in our name. The tribute which has been hitherto paid by the governors of the two provinces we demand."... (To this kind letter, the British prince wrote a perceiving reply, and persisted in the stance of his resolution. So the issue had once more to be decided by the arbitrament of the sword). Khan Baluch advanced until he was only two or three leagues from Maidanabad. His road here was frequented only of... a few bold rangers (his whole army having "detoured away through his violent bloodthirsty madness") who would not leave him, and three or four hundred horse.... The action given to Baluch Khan's men was that they were not to bring on a fight, but to surround Khan Baluch so that he should not be killed, and the Head of Maidanabad should not be split.... (But) Zai Niar Khan had an old-standing aversion of Khan Baluch, and repeatedly urged Khan-Mirad to attack. Khan Baluch, with a heart full of fear and hope, stood firm, awaiting the onslaught.... The drivers and riders on his elephants fell wounded one after the other. He then drove the animal himself, but fell in the hands wounded with balls and arrows.... The elephant ran off into the country, but was caught by a party of Mahomedans, and the Prince became a prisoner.... All the men of Khan Baluch who fought near his elephant were killed.... Khan Baluch and his two sons, all desperately wounded, were taken to Maidanabad, and placed near the royal tent. European and Greek surgeons were appointed to attend them. Khan Baluch refused all treatment, and refused to take the broth prepared for his food.

In the evening the King went to see his brother. He sat down

by his side, and took the cloak from his own

back, and covered him with his deflected and kindness.

dispatching, fallen from throne and fortune. He

showed him the greatest kindness, asked him about his state, and said, "I never wished to see you in this condition." Khan Baluch replied, "Neither did I wish that one of the race of Timur should be made prisoner with the imputation of cowardice and want of spirit." The King gave him two or three spoonfuls of broth with his own hands, and then departed with his eyes full of tears. Three or four weeks afterwards, Khan Baluch and one of his sons named Miranmurad died. Both corpses were sent to Delhi, to be interred near the tomb of Hameeyan."

L. E. & D. op. cit. VII, pp. 468-69. For variants in details see Irvine, op. cit., p. 34.

Darabchand Khān, who Nūr Khān Khān was present in the Camp, has the following elegiacism on the date of Khān Bahadur's death:—

*Khānshāh chād an Dāshān, o bahāsh chād "Khān khawar bad agh Khān Bahāsh";* *Khawar, o ba in khawar bahāshkhān Khān, Khawar khawar khawar, / khawar-bahāsh.*

"That tyrant was slain, and the date was 'Khān Bahāsh's only counsel [had] was death.' He died, and in that way fulfilled desire (*khān*). Thus was the name-giving word verified."<sup>1</sup> The death of Khān Bahāsh occurred in January 1709 A.D. Irvine mentions on the authority of the *Shah-nama* that his grandson, through his second son, was raised to the throne later as Shāh Jahan II (QJ Bahā II, 1177 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> But later on (QJ, p. 146) he gives the same title to Shāh J. Farukh, son of Bahāsh Khān, son of Bahādur Khān. Strangely enough, another writer has confused this title of Bahāsh-dādā, with a third assign to a Bahā-d-Dawlat.<sup>3</sup>

### [3] RELATIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS

When Aurangzeb hastened to the south in pursuit of his rebellious son Akbar, he had secured no permanent peace, as we have seen, in Rajputāna. The Mughals could never thoroughly suppress the incursions and forays of the Rathors while Aurangzeb was pre-occupied with his Deccan wars. "From the time of Jangwant Singh's death," writes Irvine, "and Alauddin's treacherous attempt to seize his son (Ajit Singh), dates the alienation of the Rajput clans, whose loyalty had been so wisely and prudently fostered for many years by the tolerant measures of Akbar and his two successors Jahāngir and Shāh Jahan. As soon as Alauddin, their oppressor, had expired, Ajit Singh collected his men, banished from his retreat and ejected the Muhammadans from Jodhpur and requested to send an embassy to the new sovereign. It was told this state of things that Bahādur Shāh had now to deal."<sup>4</sup>

The Rajputs were determined 'to face fearful odds, for the sake of their fathers and the temples of their gods.' In other words, they fought for (1) the abolition of *jizya*, (2) the freedom of worship, and (3) the independence of Rajputāna. Khān Khān records the Imperial view of the situation thus:—

'Towards the end of the year 1129 the Emperor marched from Agra,

1. "The play upon *Khān Bahāsh* (*fulfiller of desire*) is almost untranslatable."—*Ibid.*, p. 66.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 68; also Karna, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 40.

3. See Khānwar and Shāh, *A History of the Mughal Rule in India*, pp. 266, 247; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 407.

4. Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

with the intention of chastising the Rajputs in the vicinity of Udaipur and Jodhpur. From the reports of the representatives of the provinces of Ajaier and the progress around Jodhpur, the following narrative appears to be correct:—*Shri Ajit Singh ... had cast off his allegiance to the late Emperor, and done many improper things. After the death of Aurangzeb he again showed his disaffection and rebellion by oppressing Mussulmans, forbidding the killing of cows, preventing the ransoms to proper, using the weapons which had been built after the destruction of the idols-temple in the late reign, and repairing and building more idols-temple. He warmly supported and assisted the army of the King of Udaipur, and was closely allied with Raja Jal Singh, whose son-in-law he was. He had carried his disaffection so far that he had not attended at Court since the accession. On the 16th March (1708) the Emperor marched to punish this rebel and his tribe, by way of Amber, the native land of Jal Singh, between Ajaier and Chittor.*<sup>1</sup>

Raja Amar Singh of Udaipur averted the threatened blow by sending his brother, Baljit Singh, to Agra with a letter of congratulation, 100 gold coins, 1000 rupees, two horses with gold mounted trappings, an elephant, nine swords, and other productions of his country. Jodhpur, the centre of the trouble, was ordered to be besieged; and Amber, the capital of the Kaithiwar, was annexed (January, 1708) though later (April, 1708) it was made over to Bijai Singh, the younger brother of Jal Singh (the erstwhile ruler).<sup>2</sup> The title of *Arjun Raja* was conferred upon the new prince. The march towards Jodhpur in the meanwhile continued. Soon after news arrived of (1) the flight of Raja Amar Singh of Udaipur, and (2) of the rebellion of Prince Kishn Kotah. The latter event has already been dealt with above. After the fall of Malhar Ajit Singh capitulated. Between 15th March and 23rd April, 1708, the tide of Malhar and the rank of 2000 old and 2000 horse, a standard, and kithabnana, were conferred upon him, with other honours for his four sons. "The difficulty with Jodhpur being thus, to all appearance, satisfactorily disposed of, the Emperor returned his steps from Malhar and returned to Ajaier." Suitable gifts were sent to Raja Amar Singh (who had fled) through his brother Baljit Singh with a reassuring letter bidding him not to be frightened but remain in peace in his own abode.

On 30th April, when the Emperor was marching south against

1. E. & D. op. cit., VII, pp. 474-75.

2. In the battle of Jodhpur, Bijai Singh had fought on the side of Baljit Singh, and Jal Singh for Ajaier. The latter, however, had deserted Ajaier before the close of the battle.

Kam Bakhsh, it was again reported that Mahārāja Ajit Singh, Raja Jai Singh Kachhetha, and Durgadās Bāthor—who had been obliged to follow the camp—had fled. But the exigencies of the situation compelled Bahadur Shāh to concentrate on the greater challenge from the south. All efforts made by the Imperial officers in the north having proved ineffective against the combination of the Rajput princes, conciliatory measures were for the time being adopted by Bahadur Shāh. "On the 6th Oct. 1838, on the intervention of prince Ashvash-shāh, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh were returned to their rank in the Mughal service." When the Emperor returned north, after the defeat of Kam Bakhsh, on 21st June 1713, the two Rājās were brought to him by Mahārāj Khān, son of the great Miran Khān. "To show how little the Rājputs trusted the solemn promises made to them that they would be treated well," writes WILLIAM IRVINE (from whom the above account has been abstracted). "I may quote the fact mentioned by Kamur Khān, the historian, who was present in the palace of Prince Ashvash-shāh. Beyond the four Princes (sons of Bahadur Shāh) and the great nobles there was no one else with the Emperor at the time. Kamur Khān, while the interview was proceeding, saw that all the hills and plains round them were full of Rajputs. There were several thousand men on camels hidden in the hills. On each camel rode two or even three men, fully armed with match-lock or bows and arrows. Evidently they were prepared to sell their lives dearly in defence of their chieftains, if there was any attempt at treachery."<sup>1</sup>

1. Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The report of Khān Khān on the return of the Rajput submission is rather less sanguine: "Ajit Singh and his eldest Rājā, according to him, 'knew that submission and obedience alone could save them and their families and property: so he addressed himself to Mahārājān and his son Mahārājān, expressing his sorrow, repentance, and obedience; and he sent a message humbly asking that Mahārājān and the Rājās should come two foot-paces to behold the emperor; during the day/night, when the presence of the law about the emperor to pray and the killing of men, is applied respectively and to submission officers is called the day. His submission was previously accepted, and his requests granted. Officers of justice, state, war, and revenue (as well as others) were stationed in Jodhpur and other towns in the country. Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, with the assistance of Durgadās, who was the very head of the opposition, came to Court in force of receiving justice for their offences, and each was rewarded with the gift of a robe, elephant, etc.—*ibid.*, p. 81, vii, p. 811.

— That the peace was not as humiliating to the Rajputs is indicated by the following account given by Rājāwatsarān: "While he was on his march against Chakradhār, he had endeavoured to make a settlement

## III. RELATIONS WITH THE MARATHAS

The importance of the Mughal-Maratha relations in the reign of Bahadur Shah consists primarily in two happenings: (1) the release of Shahu from Mughal custody; and (2) the Imperial recognition of the Maratha claims to Coast and Sardarshehadi in the Deccan. Regarding the former it is necessary to correct the mistake committed by T. A. Smith in the following statement: "Bahadur Shah," he writes "acting on the astute advice of Zulfiqar Khan, released Shahu (Shivaji II), the great Shivaji's grandson, who had been educated at Court, and sent him back to his own country, then under the government of Tara Bai, the widow of the young prince's uncle, Raghoo Khan. The expected civil war among the Marathas which ensued prevented them from troubling the Imperial Government, thus fulfilling Zulfiqar Khan's counsel."<sup>1</sup>

Shahu was not in Bahadur Shah's custody, but in Aurangzeb's camp at the time of the latter's death. Asam Shah took Shahu with him when he marched north towards the capital. He was released by Asam, no doubt as suggested by Zulfiqar Khan, in May 1707, at Doraha (near Narnagar, north of the Nasroli), before the battle of Jajau. Khafi Khan makes mention of this in the following terms: "Zulfiqar Khan Nurjar Jung was very intimate with Shahu, grandson of Shivaji and had long been interested in his affairs. He now persuaded Asam Shah to set this Shahu at liberty, along with several persons who were his friends and companions. .... Many Maratha leaders, who through necessity had doubtfully joined themselves to the part of Feroz Tahir Bai, widow of Bijapur, now came and joined Raja Shahu."<sup>2</sup>

Khafi Khan had demanded from Aurangzeb the release of Shahu

of his dynasty with the Rajputs: He had entered into a treaty with the King of Oudipur, renouncing all conquests re-conquering religious affairs on the footing on which they stood in Akbar's time, releasing the Shah from the obligation to furnish a pretence to the Deccan, and, in fact, "acknowledging his entire independence in everything but the name." (Feroz's *Autobiography*, Vol. I, p. 381.) "When Bahadur Shah returned north, after the defeat of Nizam Muzaffar, he was beset with a new party, viz., the Shah rising; and hence, according to Rhipatseon: "All their (Rajput's) demands were agreed to, and they were probably left on the same footing as the King of Oudipur."—*Library of India*, no. 47729.

1. "Next to the great founder Shivaji, Shahu has played the most important part in the development of the Maratha State."—*Sanford, The Maratha Campaign of Maratha History*, p. 99.

2. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 435.

3. E. & O., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 381.

as a condition of peace, but Aurangzeb had refused to set him at liberty.<sup>1</sup> Now the exigencies of the situation made such an act politic and expedient. Tārā Bāi, who was the soul of the Maratha resistance, had been fighting after all for the ascendancy of her own son. The release of Shihū was therefore calculated to involve Marahattas in a civil war. This was extremely desirable, inasmuch as the Mughal Princes and the Imperial armies were engaged in the fight for the throne. "Thus Shihū released," argued Daul Shīr Khān, "would be a more potent weapon against the Marathas than Shihū in captivity."<sup>2</sup> As a condition of his release, however, Shihū had agreed to rule as a feudatory of Aurang Shāh and to leave behind him as hostages his mother, Yashbāi his wife, his sisters (Firozabāi), and his illegitimate half brother Madan Singh. "On the other hand Aurang Shāh had granted Shihū the Sardeshmukhi and the Chauth over the six Deccan sarkats (Khatwas, Berar, Aurangabad, Belsar, Haidarabad of Golkonda, and Raigyar). Shihū was also appointed governor of Goudwana, General and Tankar during good behaviour."<sup>3</sup> When Bahadur Shāh ascended the throne, Shihū sent his wakil, Bihārīdās Bhonsla, to the Imperial Court to pay his homage;<sup>4</sup> and the new Emperor confirmed him in his possessions and created him *mansabdar* of ten thousand horse.<sup>5</sup> Tārā Bāi disputed the legitimacy and claims of Shihū before the Imperial Court, through Munim Khān, and asked for a *farman* in the name of her son, granting the nine *rayas* (per cent.) of the *sardeshmukhi*, without any reference to the *chauth*, for which he would suppress other insurgents and restore order in the country. Sansarām-dāsa Daul Shīr Khān took the side of Rājā Shihū, and a great contention upon the matter arose between the two ministers. The King, in his extreme good nature, had resolved in his heart that he would not reject the petition of any one, whether of low or high

1. Kincaid and Farwell, *A History of the Maratha People*, II, p. 88.

2. Shihū, *The Five of the Pathan*, pp. XII-XIII.

3. Kincaid and Farwell, *op. cit.*, II, 122-23.

4. Shihū, being brought up in the Mughal camp, departed from the paternal attitude of his father and grandfather (see Sanjay, *op. cit.*, p. 86) and to prove his loyalty to the Emperor sent a Maratha contingent under Nandāi Saindhi, an old Bahadur Shāh's foe, to the fight against Rājā Shihū. (Shihū, *op. cit.*, p. XXVI.)

5. Majumdar, VIII, Documents 55-57. Shihū's wakil had asked for a *farman* conferring on him the *sardeshmukhi* and *chauth* of the six *rayas* of the Deccan "on condition of restoring property to the ruined land." (Kincaid Khān, II, & II, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 426.)

degree. The complainants and defendants made their statements to His Majesty, and although they differed as much as morning and evening, still two accepted, and an order of consent was given. So in this matter of the *arshaknashki*, justice was directed to be given in compliance with the reports both of Moritz Kikin and Zol-khar Kikin; but in consequence of the quarrel between these two nobles, the orders about the *arshaknashki* remained inoperative.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. RELATIONS WITH THE SIKHS

In the last chapter we brought the history of the Sikhs down to the death of Gurm Govind, the tenth and last Guru, who had for some strategic or other reasons submitted to Bahadur Shah in the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 476. In this connection it is interesting to note the following observation in the *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi Khat*, though the matter must be treated against, accepting nothing contrary to the above account:—"Towards the close of His Majesty's (Aurangzeb's) lifetime, a treaty was concluded with the Marathas, on these terms, viz. that 1 p. c. out of the revenues drawn from the Imperial dominions in the Deccan should be allotted to them by way of *arshaknashki* and accordingly Asaf Khan commonly called *Shah Khat*, set out from the threshold of equity with the documents conferring this grant to the Marathas in order that, after the treaty had been duly ratified, he might bring the chiefs of that tribe to the court at the month of the month. However, before he had had time to deliver these documents into their custody, a royal messenger was sent, desiring him to return and bring back the papers in question with him. About this time, His Majesty Aurangzeb's illness hastened to the eternal gateway of Paradise, at which period his successor Shah Alam (Bahadur Shah) was granting the Deccan with his possesion. The latter settled 10 p. c. out of the produce belonging to the treasury as *arshaknashki* on the Marathas, and furnished them with the necessary documents conferring the grant."

"When Shah Alam returned from the Deccan to the metropolis, Daud Khat remained behind to officiate for Asaf Khan, whom Zol-khar Khat in the government of the province. He cultivated a good understanding with Marathas, and concluded an amicable treaty on the following footing, viz. that in addition to the above-mentioned grant of title as *arshaknashki*, a fourth of whatever amount was collected in the country should be their property, when the other three-fourths should be paid to the royal exchequer. This system of division was accordingly put in practice; but no regular deal granting the fourth share, which is the *darul* of the Deccan is called *chauth*, was delivered to the Marathas." E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 226-60. *Alphonsus* observes, "Bahadur, who was now at great length, was anxious that peace should be concluded with him (Shahaji), at the price of the conditions formerly offered by *daudkhat*." When Bahadur left for the Court, putting Daud Khat in charge of the Deccan, the latter "followed up the views of his principal, and concluded a personal agreement with him, consenting that the *chauth* (or fourth) should be paid while he remained in office, but stipulating that it should be collected by agents of his own, without the interference of the Marathas."—*Alphonsus*, op. cit., pp. 476-77.

father's struggle against his rebellious brothers.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the circumstances attending the murder of Guru Govind,<sup>2</sup> it is certain that he had eminently succeeded in "teaching the sparrow to strike the eagle": he had effectually roused the dormant energies of a God-frightened people and filled them with a lofty although fatal longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper effluents of that purity of worship which had been preached by Nānak.<sup>3</sup> He had lost all his children in the struggle and at the time of his death [1708] entrusted the Sikhs to God, the everything. He formulated on his following: "He who wishes to behold the Guru, let him search the Gurus of Nānak. The Guru will dwell with the Sikhs; be firm and be faithful; wherever the Sikhs are gathered together there will I also be present."<sup>4</sup>

The leadership of the Sikhs after this was assumed by an adventurer whose origin and personality are a subject of controversy. "On the death of Govind," says Irvine, "his family and followers brought forward a man, who exactly resembled the deceased. It is not very clear who this man was; he is generally spoken as Bhandi (the slave), or as the Fake Guru. . . . Some say he was a Baidghi Singh . . . who for many years had been the intimate friend of Guru Govind." Whatever may be the truth as to his origin and antecedents, concludes Irvine, "this man was now sent off secretly from the Dakhin to Hindustan. At the same time letters were written to the Panjab, informing the disciples, that their Guru had been slain in the Emperor's camp by the dagger of an Afghan. But just before his death, their leader had announced that in a short time, through the power of transmigration, he would appear again clothed with sovereignty, and whenever he should raise the standard of independence, they would by joining him secure prosperity in this world and salvation in the next."<sup>5</sup>

Bhandi, taking advantage of the distracted state of the Empire, soon became a terror to the Mughlans in the Panjab, especially in

1. Irvine states that Guru Govind killed Bahadur Singh when he was preaching "seven leagues from Lahore, in April, to collect the tribute with his brother, Arjun Singh.—Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 89. According to other accounts, the Guru assassinated Bahadur Singh while he was marching north against his youngest brother Kila Bahadur.—*Contestations, A History of the Sikhs*, p. 118.

2. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 91. See "Last Days of Guru Govind" by Gopal Singh in *J. I. H.*, XX, no. 1, (April 1941).

3. See Contestations, *loc. cit.*, pp. 106 to 120 and 121.

4. Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 99.



Sikking. It was to crush this danger that threatened the very heart of the Empire, that Rohādar Shāh felt compelled to conclude his hostilities with the Rajputs, and hasten further north. As Ghulām Masūd puts it, 'This barbarian, whose nature had formed for a butcher, trusting to the numbers and repeated success of those other butchers he commended, had inflicted upon God's creatures crimes exceeding all belief, and had laid waste the whole province of Lahore. Flushed with these victories, he even aspired to a crown.' "At Lahore, Bhandi tried to assume something of royal state. He was the Sarkar Pādshāh, or Veritable Sovereign, his disciples all Singhs, or Pious. A new form of greeting, *Paṭh daro* (May you behold victory!), was invented and Mahatmas were slightly called *Masals*. Coins now struck in the new sovereign's name. One side bore the lines:

*Shāh dar dar bar āb ābān* (God's Will did out,  
Paṭh Goyād Shāh-i-ālabān) *farīd-i-Sarkar Shāh* etc. . .

The first, an obvious imitation of the inscription on the Mughal coins, seems to mean 'Paṭh Goyād, king of kings, straddles coils in the two worlds: the reward of Shāh is the grantor of desires, by grace he is the veritable Lord!'"

Various attempts made by Imperial officers to capture this Rohādar ended in failure. One such action under the command of no less a person than the Khān-i-Khān, Munim Khān, is worthy of notice. KHAN KHAN writes:

"After repeated battles, in which many men were killed on both sides, the infidels were defeated, and removed to a fortress in the hills called Lohgach, which is near the hills belonging to the Shāh Shāh (or King), and fortified themselves. The Guru of the sect trusted and encouraged his followers to action by saying that those who should find fighting barely on the field of battle would rise in a state of youth to an everlasting existence in a more exalted position. . . . Continuous fighting went on, and numbers fell. . . . The provisions in their fortress were failed, and the infidels bought what they could from the grain-dealers with the royal army, and pulled it up with ropes. . . . The infidels were in extremity, when one of them, a man of the Khatri tribe, and a tobacco-seller by trade, resolved to sacrifice his life for the good of his religion.

1. *Shāh-i-Mahmūdīyān*, p. 78.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, p. 119. "Not content with supremacy in the South, he also desired, as other sovereigns have done, to be above government. By his order all names in Hindi and Persian having feminine terminations were changed into the masculine form! The *patnas*, several (or perhaps) and *khāns* (Court-houses or offices) were pronounced by him and his Shāhs, *masals* and *khāns*!"—*Ibid.*, p. 122.

He dressed in the fine garments of the Gura and went and seated himself in the Gura's house. Then the Gura went forth with his horse, rode through the royal tent, and made off to the mountains of the Black Hills.

"The royal troops missed the fact, and, finding the late Gura straggling in state, they made him prisoner, and carried him to Khankhilan. Gula was the reigning Gura that followed; the man who took the news to the Emperor received pardon, and great commendation was bestowed on Khankhilan.<sup>1</sup> The prisoner was taken before Khankhilan, and the truth was then discovered—the horse had flown and an ear had been caught! (1706)

"Khankhilan was greatly vexed. He severely reprimanded his officers, and ordered them all to dismount and march on foot into the hills of the Black Hills. If they caught the Gura, they were to take him prisoner alive; if they could not, they were to take the Black Hills and bring him to the presence. So the hills were made prisoner and brought to the royal camp, instead of the Gura. *Ching* soldiers were then ordered to make an iron cage. This cage became the lot of the Black Hills and of that Sikh who so bravely sacrificed himself for his Gura; he and they were placed in it, and were sent to the fort of Delhi.<sup>2</sup>

Handi could not be captured during the life time of Bahadur

Sikhs were  
dead.

Sikhs. The Emperor's impetuous rage was visited upon Khankhilan, who died shortly after

the disgrace that attended this discomfiture.

Bahadur Shah, in his mad search after the Sikh Leader, ordered that all Khatri and Jits in his army, at the Court, and in public offices, should shave off their beards! "A great mass of them thus had to submit to what they considered the disgrace of being shaved, and for a few days the barbers were busy. Some men of name and position committed suicide to save the honour of their beards!"<sup>3</sup>

The Sikhs continued to grow strong during the period of confusion that surrounded the death of Bahadur Shah (1710) and later. Handi was not captured until after the accession of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1716); but we might carry on the story of the Sikh rebellion to its tragic close, viz., the execution of Handi and his immediate followers. The *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin* gives the following account of this:—

"On the accession of Farrukhsiyar, Islam Khán (Viceroy of Lahore) received orders to destroy these infidels; but he was totally defeated in a pitched battle, and after losing the greater part of his men, he retired to Lahore covered with disgrace. Handi closed by so many

1. History will recall the circumstances attending the flight of Shikhs from Agra.

2. E. I. R., no. 48, VII, pp. 424-25.

3. "To the Sikhs the shaving of hair from any part of their body is religiously forbidden" (Ibid., p. 425).

peaked a warrior, accompanied his squadron with additional fury. . . . The intelligence having reached the capital, the emperor commanded Abdol-stan Khan, a Tatar chief, the viceroy of Cashmere, to march against the Sikhs, and at the same time conferred the Government of Lahore on his son Sackiarish Khan. This general, who afterwards became so famous, and with him, . . . several commanders of high distinction . . . with them . . . Abdol-stan Khan who waited only for a train of artillery, proceeded to Lahore. . . . On coming up with the enemy, the troops fell with such fury upon these barbarians that they completely routed them; nor did the imperialists give over the pursuit until they had entirely pursued the enemy. Bhandi stood his ground at first, and fought desperately; for although beaten and vigorously pursued, he retired little by little, like a savage of the wilderness, and while losing his own men, he contained heavy loss to his pursuers. At last, worn out by incessant flight, he retired to Comillapoor. . . . The imperial general held siege to this place; nor was it furnished with provisions, though the multitude that had successively retired thither were so considerable. The besiegers, however, were so vigilant that not a blade of grain nor a grain of corn could find its way into the fort; so that at last, the magazines, which being exhausted, a famine commenced its ravage among the besieged, who (conform to the prohibitions of their religion) ate men, horses, and even men; and such was the desperate resolution of the garrison, that no one talked of surrender, till having consumed all that could be converted into food and having suffered from a bloody flux that broke out among them, the survivors asked for quarter, and offered to upon their grace. The imperial general required them to repair to an enclosure where they were asked to deposit their arms. The devoted wretches, reduced to comply with these conditions, conforming to it, when, having been bound hand and foot, they were made over to the troops, who had orders to carry them down to a river that ran under the walls, and thence to throw the bodies, after having tortured the prisoners. The officers being put to death, were mounted upon lances, were drawn, many were and crucifix, with each of them a paper cap upon his head, and with each a redoubt the general entered the city of Lahore in triumph. . . . Amongst the prisoners was Bhandi, with his face smeared with black, and a golden cap placed on his head. The wretch having been brought before the emperor, was ordered to the walls, where he was shut up with his son, and two or three of his chief commanders. The chains were carried (a hundred every day) to the town-hall, where they were bestowed until the whole number of them was completed. What is singular, these people not only behaved patiently during the execution, but they rejoiced for the honour of being thus executed.

At length Bhandi himself was produced, and his son being placed on his lap, the father was ordered to cut

Bhandi's mouth his throat, which he did without uttering one word. His flesh was then ordered to be torn

off with red-hot pincers, and it was in those torments that he expired, expiating by his death, in some measure, the enormities he had himself committed on the people of God.

McDommel Amin-Khan, struck with the appearance of Baidi,<sup>1</sup> could not help addressing him: "It is surprising that one who shows so much ardour in his countenance, and has displayed so much ability in his conduct, should have been guilty of such horrid crimes, that most infallibly ruin him in this world as well as in the next." With the greatest composure he replied, "I will tell you what, my lord, whenever man becomes so corrupt and wicked, as to relinquish the path of equity, and to abandon themselves to all kinds of excesses, their Providence never fails to raise up a scourge like me, to chastise a race become so depraved; but when the measure of punishment has been filled, then he raises such a man as you, to bring him to punishment."<sup>2</sup>

## V. CONCLUSION

Bahadur Shah's was the last reign that is reminiscent of the glories of the Great Moghals; after him came the Nightfall of the Empire and the rule of 'her sister chaos.' The reign was short, lasting only about five years (4 years and 2 months, according to Khati Khan),<sup>3</sup> but in foreign relations it was marked by a statesmanship greater than his father's. His treatment of the Rajputs and the Marathas was certainly wiser than that of Aurangzeb. He had been over Guru Govind, as Aurangzeb might have Shivaji, if he had been wiser. It is vain to speculate how he would have treated Baidi if he had been really captured. But then the effects of growing senility were already visible.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise Shah Alam's rule was marked by a sanity and liberalism not unworthy of a descendant of the great Akbar. But these traits, unfortunately, were leaning on the side of weakness with the increasing weight of years, until 'about the 30th Muharram, 1123 (Feb. 18, 1711 A.D.)' when the Emperor had passed his 70th lunar year, there was a great change

1. *Sikandar-namah*, pp. 75-80.

2. Khati Khan, *op. cit.* p. 428. See p. 1, note 2.

3. His alleged order to kill all the dogs in his camp, to share of the Hindus, and cage the Emperor Baidi and the Earl Arko, are all indications of this.

4. See A. & D., *op. cit.* VII, p. 428 A. The *Tarikh-i Chishtani* and *Sikandar-namah* make it 1124 A.D., giving Bahadur Shah a reign of one more year. Various periods are later data.—Irvine, *op. cit.* p. 132.

perceptible in him, and in 24 hours it was evident that he was marked for death. . . . On the night of the 25th of the month (7) the Emperor, died,<sup>1</sup> and was buried near the tomb of Kharfud din, 'near or five *has* from Delhi. He had reigned four years and two months. At the end of the four years the treasure of thirteen *lacs* of *rupyas*, to which he succeeded, had all been given away. The income of the Empire during his reign was insufficient to meet the expenses, and consequently there was great parsimony shown in the Government establishments, but especially in the royal household, so much so that money was received every day from the treasure of Prince Asim-*sh* Khan to keep things going.<sup>2</sup>

Balshidur Shah had under him some able officers who would have made a mark in any age. Foremost

Amir Officers among these was the prime-minister Masim Khan, whose services in the war of succession have already been recounted. KHAN KHAN says, 'He was a man inclined to *Surur*, and was a friend to the poor. During all the time of his power he gave to no one.'<sup>3</sup> He died in the same year as Balshidur Shah, in consequence of the treatment he received for his failure to capture Banda. KHAN KHAN records, 'He lost all satisfaction in worldly enjoyments, the enjoyment of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disaster declined in health, so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death (1124 A.H., 1712 A.D.), who never in the unaccounted ages of his office seized on a soul more pure and less defiled with the passions of human nature.'<sup>4</sup>

Of like reputation and standing was Ghazir-din Khan First Jung, 'who had acquired a most powerful influence in the Delhi, and was chief of the Turki Maghals. . . . He was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly per-

1. Indeed KHAN gives the date of the Emperor's death as Elur Mihar-rum (1112 A.H., A.D.) 28th Feb. 1712—E. & G., op. cit., VII, p. 528.

2. KHAN KHAN, op. cit., 418-19.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 425. 'But,' on the same occasion observes, 'the best kingdoms are corrupted into wrong deeds. Masim Khan was ambitious to build *daras* and mosques in every city. The execution of this scheme involved horrible accumulation of private property. 'Thousands of Hindustanis, Rajpoots and Hindus were thus driven, fighting and weeping, out of their old homes, as it happened at Mathurapur and at Gual.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 425-26.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 528.

ceive the mind of man." Khān Khān also speaks in equal praise of him: "Gāzī-dīn Khān," he says, "was a man born to victory, and a disciplinarian who always prevailed over his enemy. A nobleman of such rank and power, and yet so gentle and pleasant spoken, has rarely been seen or heard of among the men of Turān." From the Deccan, when Šāh Šāh Khān took charge of that province, Gāzī-dīn was transferred to Alandahād, where his death occurred. He is to be remembered especially as the father of his more famous son, Chīnīsh Khān, the future Nīshāpūr Malik and founder of the present Hajistān State.

The *Siyl-nā* Mušāharā gives a good account of the other important nobles, and also of how the Emperor's good nature was carried to the length of absconding. 'Isf-šāh Khān, the grand-master, was honoured with the title and office of *šāh-nāmah*, and appointed viceroy of the Deccan, comprehending all the provinces already conquered or to be reconquered hereafter. This was a charge of vast importance, for which he was eminently qualified, for no other man at that time would have been able to rule countries so newly conquered and so refractory. The new viceroy, after having settled in his mind the military and financial affairs of his Government, returned to court; having left as his lieutenant an Afghan soldierman, called Dīl-dīn Khān Fīr, a man famed in those countries for his riches, his bodily strength, and his personal prowess; and who had rendered himself of so much importance, that there were no soldiermen in [the Deccan] who could be compared with him. He was made the director of all political affairs, as also of the finance department, with full liberty to undertake any military expedition which he should deem advisable. Šāh Šāh Khān, after having eased his mind of so great a burden, went to Court, where he applied himself sedulously to aiding to introduce order through every part of the empire.

"The provinces of Bengāl, Orissā, Ašāhād (Pāna) and Bāhād, had hitherto been governed by Ašāh-nāh Khān, the emperor's second son, and it was thought politic to continue these countries under the same administration: an arrangement which put it in that prince's power to reward two flourishing nobles who had rendered him many important services, and had distinguished themselves in the great battle of Ašāh-Bād (Ujain). These were Šāh Abū-dīn Khān and Šāh Humān All-Khān,\* sons of the famous Šāh Abdullāh Khān, so much revered at Ajmer under the name of Mīr Khān. On the other, Abū-dīn Khān he conferred the Government of Bāhād; and he gave that of Ašāhād (Pāna) to the younger, Humān All-Khān. At the same time Jāfir Khān was entrusted with the provinces of Bengāl and Orissā, in which

1. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

3. There were the famous *Jaipad Devians* who were soon to play the rôle of King-makers.

he had Hsiao-shan acted as minister of finance. After these arrangements, the prince took up his residence at his father's court where he enjoyed great influence."

The services of these able men were unfortunately neutralized by Hsiao-shan's father's very good nature. "The Emperor Shih's emperor, who was exceedingly good-natured," continues the same writer, "and paid even to a fault, having remembered a vow which he had once made to the Creator of all things, that if ever he should ascend the throne he would never deny any man's request, now wanted to act up to the letter of this vow: accordingly, dignities, titles, and employments were bestowed so indiscriminately, that they lost much of their value, and ceased to be desired marks of honour or distinction."

Emperor Shih, like his prime-minister Ma-shan K'ia, had strong Shih inclinations. The effect of these on the vast masses of the Siam population are indicated by an incident thus described by K'ia K'ia :-

"The incantation of the wood used in the altar had given great offence to the religious leaders of Lachon, and the order for it issued by Hsiao-shan (Shih) had remained a dead letter. An order was now given that these religious men should be brought into the royal presence. Hsiang Yih (Muhammad) . . . and three or four other learned men of repute, valued upon the Majesty in the country. They were told to be seated . . . After much disputation Hsiang Yih (Muhammad) gave words in reply to the Emperor, and spoke in a presumptuous, haughty manner. The Emperor got angry, and asked him if he was not afraid to speak in this bold and unbecomingly way in the audience of a King. The Hsiang replied, "I hope for few things from my benevolent Creator. 1. Acquisition of knowledge. 2. Preservation of the Word of God. 3. The Pilgrimage. 4. Martyrdom. Thanks be to God that of His bounty enjoy the first three. Martyrdom remains, and I am hopeful that by the kindness of the just King I may obtain that." The disputation went on for several days. A great many of the inhabitants of the city, in agreement with a party of Alghas, formed a legion of more than hundred thousand persons, who secretly supported Hsiang Yih (Muhammad). Prince K'ia-shan then also secretly gave

1. *Si-yu-t'u-chi-chi-chi*, pp. 14-15 (Briggs).

2. For example, says Graham Scoville, "one of the dog-keepers, who applied for a title, was honoured with that distinction by the King's own private order . . . and he accordingly became known afterwards by the title of Lord Dog-keeper to the great amusement of the world, and was pointed at as he passed through the streets, people saying to each other, 'There goes my Lord Dog-keeper,' till at length he was induced to give money to people to refrain from molesting him on the highway, but it had little effect."—*Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

his resistance to this party. At the end of December, the Emperor presented a petition on the subject of the *dhimtis*, and on this His Majesty wrote with his own hand that the *dhimtis* should be read in the form used during the reign of Aurangzeb....After this the agitation ceased, but I have heard that Haji Yâr Muhammed and two other learned men, whom the Emperor was angry with, were sent to one of the fortresses.<sup>1</sup> Rishi had been accused at Almorah and elsewhere by the attempt to recite the new form of prayer.<sup>2</sup>

Dahlester Sâhib's attitude towards the Christians and Europeans

was in keeping with his liberal outlook in all other matters. Even under Aurangzeb's despotic his leniency, the Europeans had not suffered yet as on account of their religion. "As the enemy of Dîm and as a Minister of the Muslims" observes Madagari, "it was unlikely that Aurangzeb would display any personal interest in Christianity. Apart from this, the change of sovereign entailed no immediate change in the position which the Jesuits occupied at Court."<sup>3</sup> Besides, several of the great nobles maintained friendly relations with the Jesuits. For example, when an order decree was given depriving the Jesuits of the estate of a deceased Father, they were enabled by Jâ'far Khân's help<sup>4</sup> to obtain a reversal of the order from the King.<sup>5</sup> But after the death of Father Basil (1657), owing to the increasing rigour of Aurangzeb's religious policy in general, there was a nearly complete cessation of the proselytising activities of the Fathers.

When the *jizya* was imposed upon all non-Muslims, in 1679, a representation was made by the Fathers. "Interviews were sought with influential men in the city, and the Jesuits supported their requests with presents of curiosities from Europe. Their efforts were so far successful that the tax at Agra, including armies, was remitted by the local authorities, but in order to get the concession on a proper footing the Vicroy at Oud was urged to represent the matter to Aurangzeb himself." Father Magalhães was deputed for the purpose, in 1686, and "the King acceded to his request that all Christians in the Empire should be exempted from the *Ajizya*." Though this order was whitened down in practice by un sympathetic officers, the exemptions specified in particular cases were continued

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, 479-80.

2. Ibid., op. cit., p. 136.

3. "When Aurangzeb, for instance, went to Kashmir, soon after his accession, he desired that Father Basil should accompany him."—Madagari: *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 121.

4. Ibid., also for other examples.



by Bahādur Shāh on his accession in 1707. "Similar exemption was again granted by Farrukh-siyar in 1718 and by Muhammad Shāh in 1738 on the same ground, namely that the Fathers were Christian sacrifices (*qurān qasr* *idh*). We have no record, however, of any confirmation of the general exemption of the Christian community."<sup>1</sup>

Here we might also allude, though briefly, to the embassy that was sent to the Court of Bahādur Shāh, in 1711,

The Dutch Em- by the Dutch East India Company at Surat.  
bassy, 1711-12.

Though this mission in the end proved fruitless, owing to the shifting of political quicksands, a reference to it is necessary for the very interesting part played under the Later Mughals by the Christian lady Donna Juliana Dias da Costa. The embassy was held by John Jesus Kettelar. Its grand reception must in part be attributed to the good office of the lady referred to. She was the daughter of a Portuguese doctor in the service of Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shāh. After the death of her father, and her husband (who also seems to have held a similar office) Juliana continued to play an important rôle at the Mughal Court. She had served Bahādur Shāh well even as a Prince, especially during the period of his captivity. Now she was appointed *governess* of the *harem* and commanded influence both over the Emperor and his Court. "She was given the 'rank of 4000'; she obtained 1800 *rupes* per month and was able to bestow a lakh of *rupes* on the Jesuit Mission at Delhi. She was given the house of Dildā Sāhib in that city, and the revenue of four villages in the neighbourhood. She had a following of five to six thousand people and two elephants carrying two standards with white crowns on a red ground. She was also given special titles which are variously recorded as 'Kāshmiri,' 'Bibi,' and 'Pādshāhī Dā'irah Jāhāna.'<sup>2</sup> The exemption from taxes above referred to, granted to Christians, was obtained 'by her powerful mediation.' She also gave strong support to the Portuguese interests during the period of her ascendancy," especially to the Portuguese Embassy which was sent to the Mughal Court under Father José da Silva."

When the Dutch Embassy came, "Donna Juliana went word that the Emperor would admit the envoy and all the Europeans to

1. *Mughals, The Jesuits and the Great Mughals*, pp. 121-24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

mediates as soon as he pleased..... On the 20th (December 1711) Donna Juliana with some ladies of the Court visited them and inspected the presents. She had been preceded by a dinner of fifty dishes from the Emperor's table and after dinner she treated them with masses of roses and other rich perfumeries and presented hotel covered with gold and silver leaf. On the 21st a dinner was sent on a small but massive golden table, having in the centre a large vessel for vegetables, and all round it holes containing small dishes filled with delicate food, such as were prepared for the Emperor himself.<sup>1</sup> Not until the 27th February 1712, however, was anything achieved in the nature of real business and the army was getting anxious "to leave that unhealthy climate" and return to Surat. But unfortunately, that very night the Emperor Bahádur Shah fell ill and died the next day (28th February 1712). The rest of the story may be very briefly told: Donna Juliana, wholly advised the embassy to take precautions for their safety, although most of their requests had been granted by the dying Emperor. "The Princes set their troops in motion and the roads to Lahore were rendered impassable by crowds of fugitives and their baggage." The next ruler, Jahánshah Shah, so Shah, confirmed the grant of his father and wrote out a *farman* addressed to Abraham van Nieboek, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies; but before the close of 1712 he was defeated and killed by Farrukhsiyar and the dead bodies of the late Emperor and his Prime Minister were paraded through the streets of Delhi. "After that revolution Jahánshah Shah's *farman* was so much waste paper, and his reign was blotted out from the records of the Empire."<sup>2</sup>



<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Soc. Rec.*, p. 149.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149. For the rest of the story of Donna Juliana, up to her death in 1714, see Hume, "Donna Juliana Dão De Castro: Her Influence in Later Mughal History," in *The Asiatic Review*, 1888, pp. 1-17.